

GUHILA RULE IN MEWAR

**THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF BURDWAN
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This is to certify that Sri Barun Kumar Chattopadhyay, M.A., a duly registered candidate for the degree of Ph.D. (Arts) in History of the University of Burdwan, has carried on his research-work under my direct supervision and guidance for the period prescribed under the rules of the University. The investigation on Guhila Rule in Mewar is based on his own study of the original sources, both published and unpublished. The same thesis was not previously submitted by the candidate himself or any other person for the award of the Ph.D. degree. He also fulfilled all the necessary conditions for submission of thesis as specified in the Ordinances of the University.

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P R E F A C E

It was as a student of the Post-Graduate, Department of History, Burdwan University, that I had an opportunity to develop an interest in early mediaeval history of Northern India. As a Research Fellow belonging to the same Department, my choice was to work on a select geo-political area in the early mediaeval period. Following an academic dialogue with my teacher and supervisor, I decided to work on the history of Mewār from the sixth to the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. Because, the problems that were thrown up before me were thought-provoking enough to arouse my zeal for an investigation. Although eminent scholars had already made valuable contributions toward the reconstruction of the history of early mediaeval and mediaeval Mewār, I thought that a fresh study in the light of both literary and epigraphic records would be rewarding, especially in view of the fact that a considerable number of epigraphic records came to light in recent times.

While tracing the political history of Mewār, we have focussed our attention on the rise and fall of the Guhila power. It was from the Guhila line that the Rāwāls and the Sesodias were descended and played ~~a significant role~~ in mediaeval Indian History. For the reconstruction of the history of Mewār, one has to depend, to some extent, on the bardic tradition and the accounts left by the court-chroniclers. We have relied more on epigraphic records than bardic tradition. Of course, it remains true that in some cases the bardic tradition has been inducted in the epigraphs by their composers. In those cases, we had no alternative but to accommodate the tradition as far as it is acceptable on reasonable grounds. We have not only consulted the original sources, both published and unpublished, but also have taken into consideration the interpretations of the relevant data as given by previous scholars. We have critically examined the views of the previous scholars and have discarded or accepted them, depending on the data as furnished by the original sources.

We have not only traced the political history of Mewār under the Guhila rule, but, to make the

historical study complete, have also made an attempt to draw an outline of the administration, society, economy and culture of Mewār during the period under study. While tracing the political history we have not only taken into consideration the epigraphic records attributed to the main branch of the Guhilas but also the records belonging to the collateral branches of the Guhilas. Besides, we could not put aside the records of the contemporary ruling dynasties like the Pratihāras, Paramāras, Chāhamānas and Chaulukyas who were directly involved in the politics of Rājputānā, in general, and of Mewār, in particular. Again, while making an attempt to draw an outline of the non-political history of the Guhilas, we have considered the data furnished by the epigraphs, coins, sculptures, temples and literary texts. In this connection, we have also taken into consideration some mediaeval records, because the mediaeval period may be reasonably supposed to be historically, culturally and traditionally a continuity of the early mediaeval period. Except the change of ruling dynasties in Mewār, there was practically little hiatus between early mediaeval and mediaeval period.

In Chapter I, we have introduced Mewār in its geographical and ethnological background. In Chapter II, we have traced the origin of the Guhilas. Scholars

previously laid an emphasis on the caste-position of the Guhilas, whereas we have attempted to indicate their ethnological origin. The caste-position appears to have been later attributed to the Guhilas by the court-chroniclers. In Chapter III, we have traced the genealogy and chronology of the early Guhilas. Scholars previously formed divergent views in regard to the chronological and geneological position of the early Guhila rulers. A reasonable solution to the controversial problem has been suggested on the basis of a comparative study of different epigraphic lists of the Guhila rulers. In Chapter IV, an attempt has been made to examine the circumstances in which the Guhilas gradually rose to power. Although they made their advent in the arena of politics in the latter half of the sixth century A.D., they rose to power after the decline of the Pratihāras, sometime in the middle of the tenth century A.D. In Chapter V, we have traced the history of the Guhila rule in Āghāṭa that was, more often than not, disturbed by the intervention of the Chāhamānas and the Paramaras in the affairs of Mewar. We have made a fresh examination of the Guhila - Chāhamāna and the Guhila - Paramāra political relations. In Chapter VI, we have examined the circumstances in which the Guhilas shifted their capital from Āghāṭa to Nāgahrada, their earlier stronghold. It was during their rule in Nāgahrada that the Chaulukyas of

Gujrāt made an intervention in the affairs of Mewār. The position of the Guhilas in relation to that of the Chaulukyas has been re-assessed. Chapter VII indicates the process of the climax and fall of the Guhila power. The climax was reached in the first decade of the thirteenth century A.D., when the Guhila power was gradually consolidated. The Guhila capital was transferred to Chitor, sometime towards the close of the second decade of the thirteenth century. Chitor was in a flourishing state till the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. The fall of Chitor by Ālāuddin Khalji's invasion (A.D. 1303) marked the fall of the Guhila power in Mewār. Incidentally, we have examined the role of the Guhilas against foreign aggressions from time to time. In Chapter VIII, we have drawn an outline of Guhila administration. The administrative set up of the Guhilas, despite repeated political interferences from outside, ensured political stability in Mewār. An attempt has been made to trace whether the Guhila administrative system was feudalistic in character. In Chapter IX, we have made an attempt to reconstruct the socio-economic set up and trace the cultural progress in Mewār under the Guhila rule. The social hierarchy, based on the varṇa-system, and the economy, mainly based on the prevailing land-system, formed the foundation on which the superstructure of culture was set up. In tracing the cultural progress,

we have made a study of the religious beliefs and practices, attainments in the fields of art and architecture as well as literary activities.

In conclusion, we have much pleasure to acknowledge our indebtedness to the Central Library, Burdwan University, the Museum and Art Gallery, Burdwan University, the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, the National Library, Calcutta, the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, the Jaipur Museum, Jaipur, and the Numismatic Society of India, Vārāṇasī. I remain grateful also to the Rājakiya Saṁgrāhālaya, Udaipur, wherefrom I have obtained some valuable information. I owe my indebtedness to different Book-sellers and Publishers of Agra, New Delhi, Jaipur, Udaipur, Jodhpur, who supplied me valuable books by post. I remain grateful to my mother Smt. Durga Chattopadhyay, who carefully looked after my health during the period of study and always gave me inspiration for research-work. The teachers of my Department have always encouraged me by their valuable suggestions. Above all, it is my sacred duty to put on record that my teacher and supervisor, Dr. Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, Professor of History, Burdwan University, has kindly provided me with his guidance at every stage, for which I hardly find suitable words to express my indebtedness and gratefulness to him.

Barun Kumar Chattopadhyay

Abbreviations

Agni	<u>Agni Purāṇa</u>
AIOC	<u>All India Oriental Conference.</u>
ALB	Anup Library, Bikaner.
AR	<u>Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.</u>
AR, ASI or An Rep. ASI	<u>Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India.</u>
ASI, AR	<u>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.</u>
ASI, WC	<u>Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.</u>
Artha	<u>Arthasāstra.</u>
APJLS	<u>Arbudāchalapradakshina Jaina Lekha Samdoha.</u>
BG	<u>Bombay Gazetteer.</u>
BI	<u>Bibliotheca Indica.</u>
Bhāv. Ins.	<u>Bhāvnagar Inscriptions.</u>
Cal.	Calcutta.

CCAI	<u>Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India.</u>
Chap.	<u>Chapter.</u>
CHI	<u>Cambridge History of India.</u>
CII	<u>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.</u>
DHNI	<u>Dynastic History of Northern India.</u>
Dist.	District.
Drona	<u>Dronaparva.</u>
Ed.	Edited.
Eng.	English.
EP. Car.	<u>Epigraphia Carnatica</u>
E.I.	<u>Epigraphia Indica</u>
G.E.	<u>Gupta Era.</u>
GOS	<u>Gaekwad's Oriental Series</u>
HIED	<u>History of India as told by its own Historians, H.M. Eliot and J. Dowson.</u>
HM	<u>History of Mewar by G.C. Roychaudhuri.</u>

HMHI	<u>History of Mediaeval Hindu India.</u>
HR	<u>History of Rājputānā</u>
H.E.	<u>Harsha Era.</u>
I.A.	<u>Indian Antiquary.</u>
I.C.	<u>Indian Culture.</u>
I.G.	<u>Imperial Gazetteer.</u>
I.G.R.	<u>Imperial Gazetteer, Rājputānā.</u>
I.G.R. Pro Series.	<u>Imperial Gazetteer, Rājputānā,</u> <u>Provincial Series.</u>
I.H.Q.	<u>Indian Historical Quarterly.</u>
JAOS	<u>Journal of Americal Oriental</u> <u>Society.</u>
JIH	<u>Journal of Indian History.</u>
JASB	<u>Journal of the Asiatic</u> <u>Society of Bengal.</u>
JERS	<u>Journal of Bihar Research</u> <u>Society.</u>
JBERAS	<u>Journal of Bombay Branch of</u> <u>Royal Asiatic Society.</u>

JBORS	<u>Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.</u>
JDL	<u>Journal of Department of Letters (New Series).</u>
JGK	<u>Jaina Gurjara Kaviyam.</u>
JGPS	<u>Jaina Grantha Prasasti Samgraha.</u>
JOI	<u>Journal of Oriental Institute.</u>
J.R. Anth. Inst.	<u>Journal of Royal Anthropolo- gical Institute.</u>
JRUUP	<u>Journal of the Research of the University of Uttar Pradesh.</u>
JSP	<u>Jaina Sāhitya Prakāśa.</u>
JRAS	<u>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</u>
JN SI	<u>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.</u>
JSAI	<u>Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa.</u>
JSS	<u>Jaina Sāhitya Samśodhaka.</u>
JSSI	<u>Jaina Sāhitya no Samkshipta Itihāsa.</u>

Katha	<u>Kathakoṣa.</u>
KNS	<u>Kāmandakiya Nītiśāra.</u>
K.E.	Kalachuri Era.
Manu	<u>Manusmṛiti.</u> or <u>Manusamhitā.</u>
MSS.	<u>Manuscript.</u>
MVC	<u>Mahāvīracharita.</u>
Mbh.	<u>Mahābhārata.</u>
MME	<u>Mewar and the Mughal Emperors.</u>
NPP	<u>Nāgarī Prachārīnī Patrikā.</u>
NVA	<u>Nītivākyamṛita.</u>
NS	<u>Numismatic Supplement.</u>
ODRU	<u>Old Deposited Records,</u> Udaipur.
Padma	<u>Padma Purāṇa.</u>
PAIOC	<u>Proceedings of the All India</u> <u>Oriental Conference.</u>
PHAI	<u>Political History of Ancient</u> <u>India.</u>
PIHRC	<u>Proceedings of Indian Historical</u> <u>Records Commission.</u>

PO	<u>Poona Orientalist.</u>
PIHC	<u>Proceedings of Indian History Congress.</u>
PK	<u>Prabandhakosa.</u>
PRAS, WC.	<u>Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle.</u>
Pt.	Part.
PV	<u>Prithvirājavijaya.</u>
R&B	<u>Rogers and Bravery.</u>
RI	<u>Rājputāne kā Itihās.</u>
RG	<u>Rājputānā Gazetteer.</u>
RJSBGs	<u>Rājasthāna ke Jaina Shāstra Bhāṇḍāraṁ ki Grantha Śūchi.</u>
SELU	Saraswatī Bhāṇḍār Library, Udaipur.
Select.Ins.	<u>Select Inscriptions, Vol. I.</u> ed. Sircar, D.C.
SJS	<u>Singhi Jaina Series.</u>

Tuzuk	<u>Tuzuk-I-Jāhāngiri.</u>
TM	<u>Tilakamāñjarī.</u>
Tr. or Trans.	Translations.
UDG	<u>Udaipur District Gazetteer.</u>
URI	<u>Udaipur Rājya kā Itihās.</u>
Vols.	Volumes.
VTK	<u>Vividhatīrthakalpa.</u>
VDP	<u>Vishṇudharmottarapurāṇa.</u>
V.S.	<u>Vikrama Saṁvat.</u>
WZKM	<u>Wiener Zeitschrift für die</u> <u>Kunde des Morgen landes also</u> <u>known as Vienna Oriental</u> <u>Journal.</u>
Yaj.	<u>Yājñavalkya Smṛiti.</u>

Chapter - 1

Introductory

The main theme of our study is the history of Mewār under the Guhila rule. We should not undertake the study immediately without taking into consideration the geographical background of Mewār, the antiquity of this janapada, the early history of Mewār preceding the rise of the Guhilas as a political power and the position of the territories where different branches of the Guhilas ruled.

Medas and Medapāṭa

The reference to the Medas is found in the Manusāṃhitā, where it is stated that from a Vaidehaka father and Nishāda mother sprung Meda, who dwelt outside the village. It is also stated that the Medas were the slaughterers of wild animals¹. The reference to the Meda territory is found in the Bṛihatsāṃhitā of Varāhamihira where he distinguishes Meda from Madhyamika².

1. Manu. X, 36. p. 411 and p. 413.

2. Bṛihatsāṃhitā, XIV, 2.

The earliest reference to Medapāṭa in the epigraphic record first appears in the Hathundi Inscription of 996 A.D.³. In the Chitor Inscription of V.S. 1331⁴, the Mount Ābu Inscription of V.S. 1342⁵ and the Ekalinga Inscription of V.S. 1545⁶, the reference to Medapāṭa is found. It appears that the ancient tribe of the Medas lived on the borders of Medapāṭa after which the territory was named. It is evident from the Kumbhalgarh Inscription of 1460 A.D.⁷ that the Medas were associated with Vardhamānagiri or Vardhaṇa which was conquered by Rāṇā Lākṣhā. This Vardhaṇa is identified with Badnor in the north-west of Mewār.

Medapāṭa⁸, mentioned in the Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342), is identified by some scholars with the famous Rājput state of Mewār⁹. The word Medha of the

3. E.I. X. p. 20 verse 10.

4. I.A. XXII, p. 80. Bhāv. Ins. p. 75.

5. I.A. XVI, Line 7.

6. Bhāv. Ins. p. 117 verse 6.

7. E.I. XXI, verse 212 pp. 278 and 280.

8. Bappakena - o Kaihlavanyolkara-nirgit-amaras-

Purahśrī Medapāṭabhidham - I.A. XVI, p. 347 Line 6-7.

9. E.I. XXIV, p. 307.

name 'Arimedha' survives in Medapāṭa by which the famous Rājput state of Mewār is known, Pāṭa or Pāṭaka, as pointed out by D.C. Sircar¹⁰, stood for either a part of a village or an administrative unit. Buhler thinks that Medapāṭa is the Sanskrit form of Mevād "the country of the Medas" or of Mers of modern times who still inhabit the Ārāvalli hills on the boundary of Mevād¹¹. It is significant to note that the region of the settlement of the Medas and the settlement of the Nishādas are not far from each other. Moreover, Maṇu closely connects the Medas with the Nishādas. Like the Bhils, the Medas lived outside the villages and usually killed wild animals¹². The Nishādas or Bhils were probably allied with the Medas. Actually, Medapāṭa proper is to be identified with a small area around Nāgahrada where the tribe first settled. But Medapāṭa in a wider sense included the districts of modern Bhilwara, Chitor and Udaipur. Badnor or Vardhana which was later conquered by Rānā Lākṣhā from the Medas might not be identified with proper Medapāṭa.

10. Sircar, D.C., Indian Epigraphical Glossary, Delhi, 1966 p. 81 (Cf. Daṇḍapāṭa).

11. I.A. VI, p. 191; HIED, I, p. 523.

12. Maṇu. X, 36 pp. 411 and 413.

Probably, it was the settlement of a section of the Medas. The Medas or the Mewas or Mers generally lived in southern Rājputānā¹³, particularly in Medapāṭa, or Mewār which was possibly the home of the Arimedhas as well¹⁴. Medapāṭa is often referred to medieval records. The reference to Mevāḍadeśa is also not unknown¹⁵. Again, in the early 17th century the reference to Mewāt is found¹⁶. It is therefore not unlikely that Mevād, Mewāt, Mewār etc. are the corrupt forms of Medapāṭa, and the original habitants were the Medas, Mevas or Mers.

In the Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka V.S. 894¹⁷, there is a reference to Medantakapuram, which was the capital of Nāgabhaṭa, son of Narabhaṭa. The city is identified with Mertā to the west of Ajmer in Jodhpur. Along with the Nishādas and Medas, there were other peoples' sway in Medapāṭa such as

13. I.A. VII, p. 254.

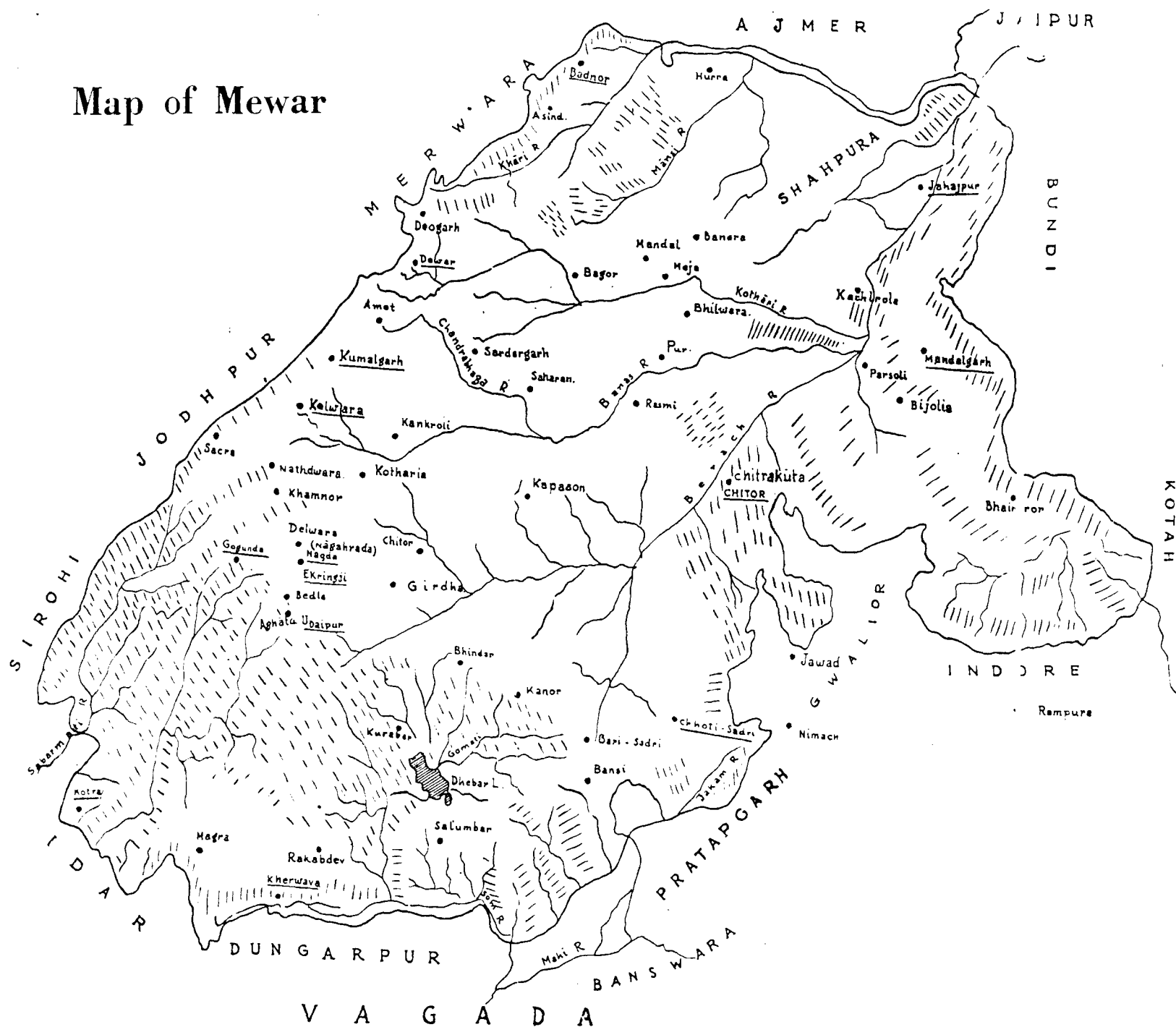
14. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic settlements in Ancient India, Cal. 1955, p. 27 fn. I.

15. Inscription of Śisōdiā kings of Chitor (V.S. 1331), Bhāv. Ins. p. 75, verses 6-9.

16. Tuzuk I (Rogers and Beveridge) p. 250.

17. E.I. XVIII, p. 93 Line 7.

Map of Mewar



Reproduced from the Journal of the Department of Letters,
 Vol.I, New series, Calcutta University, 1957, facing p.203.

the Nāgas¹⁸ and Hādās¹⁹. The Nāgas probably lived in and around Nāgahrada or Nāgdā. Traditionally, it is believed that Nāgahrada or Nāgdā is associated with the Nāga people. Dr. G.C. Raychaudhuri²⁰ is of opinion that there remains a possibility that the expression Nāga refers to the 'water - spirit' who gave his name to so many springs and fountains in Kāśhmīr. Though this town is known to have been founded by Nāgāditya, we can hardly ignore the association of the Nāga people with this region.

Boundary of Mewār

The boundary of ancient Medapāṭa, that is, Mewār changed from time to time. In the Bṛihatsaṃhitā or Varāhamihira²¹, as already mentioned above, there is a reference to the Meda Janapada which is distinguished from Madhyamikā, nine miles north of Chitor. In the Jammu - Sami chariu of the 11th century A.D., Chitor is mentioned separately from Mewār²². Chitor

18. Kumbhalgarh Inscription of 1460 A.D. verses 31-33, E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

19. Śringi Rishi Inscription of Mokāla- E.I. XXIII, pp. 231ff. Kumbhalgarh Inscription of 1460 A.D. - E.I. XXI, p. 278.

20. HM. p. 13.

21. Bṛihatsaṃhitā, XIV. 2.

22. Somani, R.V., History of Mewar, Jaipur. 1976, p. 2 fn. 8.

is shown in the Kan̄ḍa Inscription of Balagambe within the state of Mālwa²³. In the Kumbhalgarh Inscription (Verses. 154-55) of 1460 A.D.²⁴, it is stated that four separate units or divisions, namely, Chitrakūṭa, Āghāṭa, Medapāṭa and Vāgaḍa are administered by the Guhila king Jaitrasimha (1213 - 52 A.D.) from Nāgahrada or Nāgdā. It appears that Medapāṭa was originally a part and not the whole of Mewār.

In the 14th-15th centuries A.D., the area of Mewār extended up to Bayānā in the north - east, Rewakanta and Mahikanta in the south, Palanpur in the West and Malwa in the south - east²⁵. But the constant invasions of the Turks, Mughals and the Mārāthās reduced the boundary of Mewār between 23.49' and 25.28' north latitude and 73.1' and 75.45' longitude, reducing its area to 12, 691 square miles²⁶. The state of Mewār was surrounded on the north by Ajmer - Merwārā, Shāhāpurā chiefship ; on the west by Jodhpur and Sirohi ; on the south - west by Idar ; on the south

23. Ep. Car., III, p. 134.

24. E.I., XXIV, pp. 304ff.

25. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Rājputānā, Vol. VII., London, 1881, p. 111.

26. Ibid, p. 107.

by Dungarpur, Bānswārā and Partābgarh ; on the east by Nimach, Nimbahera, Bundi and Koṭā ; and on the north - east by Deoli and Jaipur²⁷. At present the area of Mewār includes the districts of Udaipur, Chitor and Bhilwārā.

Mountain System

The Ārāvallis, which probably formed a part of ancient Pāripātra or Pariyātra mountain, stands on the western side of Mewār. The Pāriyātra is the ring of ranges to the north of the Narmadā which nearly encircles the catchment areas of the Chambal and the Betwā. It corresponds to the Ārāvallis and the Western Vindhya²⁸.

The main ranges of the Ārāvallis run from Gujrāt in the south - west to Delhi in the north - east. The highest point is the great gigantic mass of Mount Ābu (5,646 feet) that lies off the main axis in the extreme south - east. Around Udaipur the Ārāvallis

27. Mewār Residency, Ajmer, 1908, p. 5.

28. In Sanskrit it is termed as Arbuda I.A.

XVI, p. 347.

reach their culmination in a great mode of spurs and carving ridges²⁹, thence another series of low ridges strike off east - north - east. These ridges run parallel to the south of the Banās river. Another series of hills, low and sometimes defaced, belonging to the Vindhyan system runs from Chitor to Fatepur Sikri. In Hiuen - Tsang's time the Mewār region was known as Vadri³⁰.

Actually, the range of the Aravallis surrounded the Mewār region. The hills known as Jaragā, Ranakpur, Gogundā, Girwā, Dhariyawādā, Mangora and Bhūmat, are the branches of the Arāvallis, which takes its course from Ajmer, Merwārā and runs towards north - western direction. These ranges make Mewār look like rectangular in shape. Many tribes dwelt in and around these hills. The highest point of Jaragā near Kumbhalgarh is more than 4000 feet. The highest peak of Bhūmat hill is near Kamalnāth, the height of which is 2500 feet. There are also other minor hill ranges. From the strategic

29. At Ekalingaji it is called Trikūṭa, Cf. Kumbhalgarh Inscription of 1460 A.D., verses 15-17, E.I.

XXIV, pp. 304ff.

30. Ali, S.M., The Geography of the Purāṇas, New Delhi, 1966, pp. 136-37.

point of view, the importance of these minor hill ranges can not be underestimated.

The slopes of the hills of Mewār are covered with dense jungle, which gave shelter to ferocious animals. There are also several passes in and around these hills, known as Jilwārā - Nāl, Deosuri - Nāl, Hathigurā - Nāl etc. These hilly regions formed a great barrier for many years to all traffics on wheels³¹. The mountain passes and forest - belts played an important part during the war - time. Hiding in these passes and forest - belts, the rulers of Mewār fought against the enemies with guerilla tactics.

The north - eastern part of Mewār is a fine and open country, although single hills rise here and there. The north - eastern hills are called Upamāl. Its earliest reference is found in the Dhod Inscription of V.S. 1225³². The south - eastern hill ranges are known as Chhapān, the reference to which is available in the Copper plate Grant of Amritapāl of V.S. 1242³³.

31. Kumbhalgarh Inscription of 1460 A.D. (first slab)
verses 58-68 E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff; Mewār Residency
(1908) pp. 6, 11.

32. Varadā, VIII, No. 4.

33. Ojhā Nibandha Samgraha, Vol. II, p. 209.

The slopes of the hills are well - clothed with forest-trees and dense forests, and the scenery is wild and picturesque. Nearly two - thirds of the state are plain country and the rest hilly and mountainous³⁴.

River System

A large number of rivers flow through the entire land of Mewār. Of these, the more important are the Chambal, the Banās and the less important rivers are Kothāri, Khari, Berach, Wakal, Som, Jakam etc. Most of the rivers flowing through Mewār originated from the mountain-ranges³⁵. In the Purāṇas³⁶, the Chambal, the Banās, the Kālī - Sindhu, the Mahi and the Kshipra are said to have their origin from these ranges. In Nāsik Cave Inscription of Ushavadāta³⁷ there is a reference to the river Banās. In ancient Indian literature, the Banās and the Chambal are described at

34. Mewār Residency (1908), pp. 6 ff.

35. In the Kumbhalgarh Inscription of 1460 A.D. there was the reference of the hills Vindhya-giri (verses 29-30). From the verses 20-22 we come know about Vindhya-Vāsinīdevī - E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

36. I.H.Q., XXVII, p. 220.

37. E.I., VIII, p. 82.

length. According to a medieval source³⁸, the Chambal (the Charmanvati of Sanskrit literature) was the largest river of Rājasthān which originated from the Vindhya. The tributaries of this river are Bamani, Pudhoi or Pagdhoi, Pān etc. Nainṣi³⁹ informs us that the Banās was an important tributary of the Chambal. The other tributaries of the Chambal are Mej, Sudā, Pārvatī, Buguri, Newān etc. The important tributaries of the Banās are Berach, Kothāri, Mahsi, Dhil, Morel etc.⁴⁰ The Banās (the hope of the forest) rises in the Arāvalli hills, about three miles from the fort of Kumbhalgarh, and flows south - wards and then bursts into the open country. In the right bank of it there remains the famous Vaishnava shrine of Nāthadwārā⁴¹. It passes through the villages of Rohidā, Barvādā, Kothāriā, Kāmā, Khamnor, Ākolā, Ropā, Pāroli etc.⁴²

38. Babur Nāmā (Eng. Trans by Beveridge II) p. 485

fn. 207.

39. Khyāta (trans by R. Dugāḍa Kāśī Saṁvat, 1982), f. 34.

40. The Imp. Gaz. Rāj. Pro. series, London, 1881, pp. 92, 98 and 170.

41. Mewār Residency (1908) pp. 7ff.

42. Sharma, G.N. Social life in Mediaeval Rajasthan, Agra, 1968, p. 14.

The reference to the river Banās is also found in the account of Firishta⁴³.

The Berach originates from the hills north of Udaipur. It is first known as Āhār and passes through the place of that name 2 or 3 miles east of the Udaipur city. It is said that the river Āhār is named after the place of that name⁴⁴. The tributaries of the Berach are the Wagan, the Kadmoli, the Gambhiri etc.

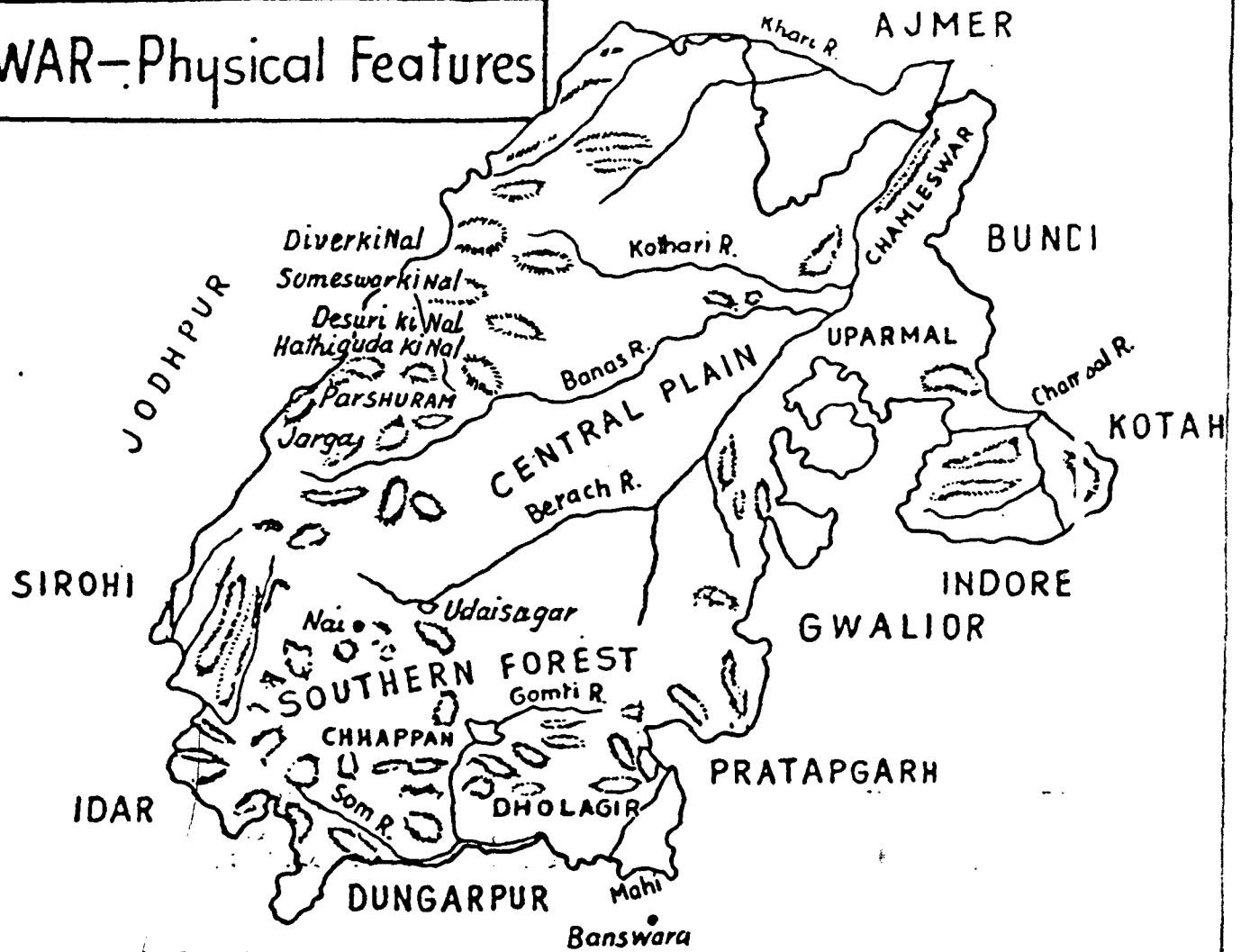
The Kothāri takes its rise from the Arāvallis and, after flowing 90 miles, join the Banās. The Khari rises from the south of Merwārā and, after flowing fifty miles, passes into the Ajmer district. The Jakam rises near Chhoti Sādri, flows south into

43. Firishta, p. 419.

44. For this information I am indebted to Manab Mohan Mukherjee living in Dungarpur.

To the east of Āhār (Āghātāpura of ancient times) there are the ruins of ancient city which according to the tradition was founded by Āśāditya. On the site of it there remains still older place Tambavati Nāgari. The name was changed first to Ānandapura and later Āhār - Ers kine, K.D. RG VII.A.

MEWAR—Physical Features



—Mewar—Physical Features

Reproduced from Glories of Mewar by Dr. G.N. Sharma, Agra.

Partabgarh, re-enters Mewār and takes its way towards the south - west until it joins the Som. The Wākal, originating from the hills west of Gogunda, flows to the south, then turns after 40 miles in the north - east and joins the Sabarmatī in Saurāṣṭra⁴⁵. The Māhi and the Som pass through Dungarpur and Bānswārā districts. These rivers are of great importance for the irrigation of the lands of Mewār lying in both sides of these rivers.

The rivers of Mewār served as great barriers to the invaders. The rivers again played an important part in directing and expediting the forward movement of the Rājputs against their enemies. Following the course of the rivers they could make sudden attack against their enemies as they were quite familiar with the course of the rivers.

Archaeological sites in the river valleys

Archaeological explorations and excavations were carried out in the river valleys from time to time. The beds of the rivers Berach, Gambhiri near

45. Mewār Residency, pp. 7 ff.

Chitorgarh, the slopes near the village Sonitā and two small rivers near Singoli yielded materials like hand - axes, cleavers, choppers and flakes. An exploration was made in 1953-54 A.D.⁴⁶ Dr. V.N. Mishra⁴⁷ made his exploration in the river valleys of the Banās, the Kothāri, the Wāgan, the Khari, the Berāch, and the Gambhiri by which a number of palaeolithic sites were found out. Among them mention may be made of Hamirgarh, Jahājpur, Sarupganje, Bigod etc. Those are said to have belonged to Acheulian culture⁴⁸. A large number of choppers, cleavers and hand - axes were collected from the site of Nimbahera near Gambhiri⁴⁹. Similar paleoliths were collected from the village near Wāgan.

While conducting the exploration in the beds of the rivers Gambhiri, Berāch, Parasoli, S.R. Rao brought to light some points, choppers, scrappers,

46. Indian Archaeology; A Review, 1953-54, p. 37.

47. Ibid. 1958-59, p. 42; 1959-60, p. 39; 1961-62, p. 38; 1962-63, p. 18; 1963-64, p. 29.

48. Mewar Through the Ages, ed. by Paliwal, D.L. Udaipur, 1970, p. 2; Vide Researcher Vol. III-IV, p. 61-62.

49. Indian Archaeology ; A Review, 1954-55, p. 58.

borers etc.⁵⁰ Further explorations were made by archaeologists including H.D. Sankhalia as a result of which many ancient sites were brought to light in the districts of Udaipur and Chitor⁵¹. Microliths were collected from different sites of Mewār like that of Bāgor. Among the materials, mention may be made of blades, points, lunates, fluted cores and scrappers⁵².

Amongst the other sites, Gilund⁵³ is important. It is also known as Bhagawānpurā, about 72 km. north - east of Udaipur. The important discoveries were mud - brick structured wall and burnt - brick structured wall. The burnt - brick structured walls were also found at the Harappan site. Large cut - spout basin

50. Ibid. 1956-57, pp. 5-7.

51. Ibid. 1961-62, p. 38; 1963-64, pp. 29ff.

52. Indian Archaeology, A Review, 1954-55 p. 58;
1955-56, pp. 68-69; 1956-57, p. 8.

53. Indian Archaeology, 1959-60, pp. 41ff.

Vide Banerjee Adris, Archaeological History of South - Eastern Rajasthan, Varanasi, 1970, pp. 36ff.

is of special interest, which was found at Navadatoli⁵⁴. Navadatoli is dated by radio - carbon test to circa. 1500-1000 B.C. Navadatoli cream - slipped ware with designs like dancing figures and spotted animals were found in the top - most levels of Gilund, whereas at Navadatoli they figure in period I and II.

There were also other sites where black and red ware were found. These places are Kadukota, Joashia and Dhelana in the Bhilwārā district, Meroli, Chhatri Khera and Pachimto in Chitorgarh district and Kothāri and Mangas in Udaipur district⁵⁵. In 1955-56 mounds bearing microliths were found on the banks of Berāch and Gambhiri in the Chitorgarh district. Khera, near Chitorgarh, supplied fluted cores and blades. Microliths were collected in 1956-57 from Bara - Bedlā, Bichri, Garna, Dabok, Mander, Kānpur, Bujana, Mordai and Intali in Udaipur district. At Bari, Achner, Biawar and Deori in Chitorgarh district cores and flakes with crested ridge were available⁵⁶. Black and red ware without any microliths were found

54. Indian Archaeology, A Review, (1959-60), pp.41-46.

55. Ibid. (1957-58), p. 45.

56. Indian Archaeology, A Review, 1956-57, p.8; Vide Banerjee Adris - Archaeological History of South - eastern Rajasthan, Varanasi, 1970, p. 38.

at Darauli in Udaipur district, Hingwario, Umand, Nangauli, Bansen, Sirdi and Kāli in Chitorgarh district⁵⁷.

Mewār formed a centre of trade in ancient times. The route to Delhi, Ajmer and Ahmedabad cut through central Rājasthān and, following the western foot of the Arāvalli hills, reached Ajmer. This route is a natural route between the Deccan and Rājasthān⁵⁸. An ancient trade route from Gujrāt to Delhi passed through Rikhabdeva, Āhār, Ekalingaji, Dilwārā, Mohi, Bhilwārā in Mewār⁵⁹. There were also other alternative routes. H.D. Sankhalia⁶⁰ proposes several groups of cultures and their contact through trade and commerce. Among these he mentions also Nāgdā or Chambal valley. The existence of such cultural groups along the

57. Ibid.

58. Moti Chandra - Trade and trade routes in Ancient India, Delhi, 1977, p. 23.

59. Cf. Somani R.V. op.cit. p. 8.

60. Pre-history and Proto-history of India and Pakistan, Bombay, 1963, pp. 156-57.

river-sides suggest the possibility of the regional development of trade-routes along the old river-valleys and their occasional contact is also not improbable. The Āhār culture is contacted with the cultural centres of Nāgdā, Navadatoli and Bahal⁶¹.

Ancient cities and towns

Āhār

Āhār or Āghāṭapura is one of the most important places of antiquity in Mewār⁶². Āhār stands 2 or 3 km. east of Udaipur city. It was the capital city of the Guhilas in 942-43 A.D.⁶³ R.C. Agarwal⁶⁴ has brought to light a culture of south-eastern Rājasthān, the centre of which was at Āhār. This chalco - neolithic culture was better known as Āhār culture.

The excavations carried out at Āhār throws some light about the way of life adopted by its

61. Ibid. p. 181.

62. Mewar Residency, Ajmer, 1908, p. 10.

63. RMR. 1914, p. 2.

64. Indian Archaeology, A Review, 1954-55, p. 38;

1955-56, pp. 68-69; 1956-57, p. 8.

early inhabitants. The houses were made of mud and mud - bricks, clay, bamboo etc. The pottery-forms and fabrics are also interesting. It appears that in pre - proto - historic times the Āhārians were fond of luxury and fashion⁶⁵. The ornaments of the Āhārians were of terracotta beads. Only few of them were of semi-precious stones. Toys like rams, horned cattle, elephants, dogs are also discovered. The Āhār culture might be contemporaneous with that of Harappā. But unlike Harappān civilization, the Āhār culture was neither urban nor purely rural in character but represented a mixed culture.

The civilization flourished in this hill - girt valley surrounded by the Arāvallis much earlier than 2000 B.C. It was inhabited the people who lived by hunting, fishing and food-gathering , Nishādas, whom Tod Calls 'Vāṇa - putras' or 'children of the forest'. It is proved archaeologically that Mewār as well as Rājasthān were not late comers in the

65. a) Paliwal, D.L. ed. - Mewar through the Ages ,
Udaipur, 1970, pp. 4-9.

b) Sankhalia, H.D. - Excavations at Ahar (1961-62),
pp. 1-4 and pp. 215-24.

arena of human history⁶⁶. Seven epigraphic records, some ancient Jain temples, some old Hindu temples represent the history and culture of Āhār in the historic period.

Nāgari

Nāgari or Madhyamā Nāgari also known as Madhyamikā Nāgari was one of the oldest towns of Mewār. The town is situated six or seven miles north of Chitor⁶⁷. Archaeological excavations and the discovery of old remains prove that this town rose to prominence in the 4th century B.C. and continued till the 6th century A.D. The town was well - known to Varāhamihira⁶⁸ (6th century A.D.). Archaeological excavators discovered from Nāgari many palaeoliths

66. Indian Archaeology (Years 1953-1961); Vide, Sankhalia H.D. Beginnings of the civilization in Rajasthan, Poona, 1956, p. I.

67. Madhyamāpurī is located three Krosas away from Chitrakūṭadurga - Jinanajaya's Kumārāpālacharita p. 547; Dr. D.C. Sircar is of opinion that Nāgari is known as Madhyamikā Nāgari, just Purī is Puruṣottama Purī or Jagannātha Purī - The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā, Cal. 1965, p. 40.

68. Shastri, Ajay Mitra, India as seen in the Brihat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira, Nagpur, 1969, p. 111.

consisting of hand - axes, cleavers, scrappers, choppers, flakes etc.⁶⁹ In fact, the importance of the town is confined only in pre-Guhila times. In the 2nd century B.C. Madhyamikā Nāgarī and its neighbouring territories were inhabited by the Śibis as a large number of their coins were found in the area⁷⁰. It is evident from the epigraphic records that the Kānvas⁷¹, the Western Kshatrapas⁷², and the Aulikaras⁷³, ruled in and around this area before the rise of the Guhilas in Mewār.

Chitor

Chitor stands nearly 108 km. north-east of the Udaipur city. Its ancient name was 'Chitrakūṭa' referred to in the epigraphic records⁷⁴ of Mewār.

69. Researcher, Vol. III-IV. pp. 61-62.

70. Allan, J. Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, London, (1933), pp. CXXIV - V.

71. E.I. XXII. p. 204.

72. E.I. XXVII. p. 252.

73. E.I. XXX. pp. 120-32 and E.I. XXXIV. pp. 53-58.

74. Bhāv. Ins. p. 117 verse 7; E.I. XXX. p. 93.

It is wellknown for its fort which covers an area of 690 acres of land and its height is four to five hundred feet. Somadeva, a Jaina author, refers to a tradition that a Hūṇa king conquered Chitrakūṭa. It is difficult to identify the Hūṇa king. However, it may be assumed that Maḍhyamikā was abandoned in favour of Chitor⁷⁵. Chitor was a stronghold of the Guhilas. In pre-Guhila times it was brought under the rule of the Mauryas, the Gurjara-Pratihāras, the Paramāras and the Chaulukyas by turn.

Nāgdā

Nāgdā or Nāghrada is situated near Ekalīngji, 14 miles north of Udaipur. Its early name was Nāghrida or Nāghrada, referred to in the inscriptions of the Guhila rulers of Mewār. According to the local tradition, the town is named after the Nāgas who were associated with the region⁷⁶. Nainsi⁷⁷ tells us that the famous king Parikshit performed here the snake-

75. Desai, Mohonlal Dulichand, Jainya Sāhitya Samikshipta Itihāsa (Bombay, 1943), p. 39.

76. It is also stated in the Kumbhalgarh Inscription of 1460 A.D. that Nāgdā is founded by the lord of serpents (Nāga) E.I. XXIV. verses 31-33, pp. 304ff.

77. Khyāta, (trans by R. Dugaḍa, Kāśī Saṁvat 1982). p. 14.

sacrifice. Most probably, this town was founded by Nāgāditya, one of the early Guhila rulers of Mewār, as Udaipur in mediaeval period was founded by Udaisimha after his own name. This town seems to have come into prominence sometime after the downfall of the Gupta empire. The downfall of the Gupta empire created an opportunity for the Guhilas to lay the foundation of their kingdom with its capital at Nāgdā.

Nāgdā was the capital of the Guhilas from the 2nd - half of the 6th century A.D. to the middle of the 10th century A.D. From the middle of the 10th century A.D. to the beginning of the 11th century A.D. the capital was shifted from Nāgdā for sometime. Again, it was restored in 1083 A.D.⁷⁸ and continued till its destruction by the Muslims in 1228 A.D.⁷⁹

78. Nāgahrada Rājadhānyam (Line 21 of the Kadmal Plates of A.D. 1083), E.I. XXXI. pp. 237 ff.

79. DHNI II, pp. 1189-90.

Chhoti Sādri

Chhoti Sādri is a small town which stands near Nimach on the route of Ajmer - Khāndwā Railway line. The town probably rose to prominence in the 5th century A.D. The area seems to have been ruled by some Kshatriya rulers who are known from a Prasasti⁸⁰ composed by Bhramarasoma, the court poet of king Gauri. King Gauri, who made wells, tanks and mandapas in various villages and towns in his own kingdom, excavated a tank. Construction of step - wells, mandapas are also known from some records⁸¹.

Early history of Mewār

The Mahābhārata⁸² informs us that Pāndunandana conquered the inhabitants of Madhyamikā. Again, the Mahābhārata⁸³ refers to a king Sūtrāyudha who engaged in the battle of Kurukshetra. His kingdom

80. Chhoti Sādri Inscription of A.D. 491, E.I. XXX.
p. 120.

81. Sircar, D.C. Select Inscriptions Vol.I. Cal.
1965, pp. 390-97, vide also - E.I. XXXIX. pp.53ff.

82. Sabhā, XXXII, 7-8.

83. Drona, XC, 44.

is associated with the river Paruasā, which is probably to be identified with the Banās. The actual location of the territory of Sūtrāyudha is not definitely known, but as the river flows within the boundary of Mewār, his sway might have extended in the region.

Towards the end of the 6th century B.C. or in the beginning the 5th century B.C., king Pradyota of Avanti probably occupied some parts of Mewār. Śīśunāga of Magadha, who took away the glory of the Pradyotas, might have annexed some parts of Mewār⁸⁴.

Next, the Nandas overthrew all the dynasties which ruled contemporaneously with the Śīśunāgas. It is, therefore, likely that Mewār came under the authority of Mahāpadma Nanda of Magadha. It has been suggested⁸⁵ that the Nandas of Magadha extended their sway as far as Western India.

84. PHAI, pp. 103, 175.

85. Sircar, D.C., op.cit. p. 39.

Maurya and Post-Maurya Period

Plutarch tells us that Chandra Gupta Maurya overran and subdued the whole of India. Justin also informs us that he was in possession of India⁸⁶. The empire of Chandra Gupta Maurya extended up to Mysore in the South and beyond the natural boundaries of India upto the borders of Persia⁸⁷. In the Junāgaḍh Inscription of Rudradāman I⁸⁸ (A.D. 150), the Maurya authority in Saurāshṭra is recorded. Saurashṭra was not very far from Mewār.

The Asokān Rock Edicts found at Bairāt prove that some parts of north-eastern Rājasthān came under the authority of the Mauryas⁸⁹. A Maurya prince is known to have ruled at Ujjain. Mewār lay midway between Bairāt and Ujjayin. So there remains a possibility about the Maurya occupation in Mewār⁹⁰. Not only at Bairāt, but also at Rupināth, similar

86. PHAI, p. 239.

87. Mazumdar, R.C. (ed.), The Age of imperial Unity, Bombay, 1968, p. 61.
E.I.VIII, p. 44.

88. Sircar, D.C., op.cit. p. 169.

89. Sircar, D.C., op.cit. p. 49 and 77.

90. JDL I, p. 216; Sircar, D.C. The Guhilas of Kiskindhā, Cal. 1965, pp. 39-40.

Asókān edict was found. It is believed to be the centre of the empire of Asóka⁹¹. The local tradition also connects Samprati with some parts of Mewār. There are good grounds to believe that the dominions of Samprati (grandson of Asóka) included Avanti and Western India⁹².

A fragmentary inscription⁹³ from Barli near Ajmer suggests that the northern areas of Rājasthān were included within the dominions of the Śūngas (C. 187-75 B.C.). The later Śūngas probably ruled the area from their headquarters at Vidiśā in Eastern Mālwa. The date of the epigraph still remains controversial⁹⁴. However, it has been suggested that the date of the Barli Inscription is to be assigned to the end of the second or the beginning of the 1st century B.C. It is also known from the inscription that Madhyamikā - Nāgari was an important and prosperous town of Mewār during this period.

91. PHAI, p. 278.

92. Ibid, p. 312. cf. Smith, V.A., Early History of India, Oxford, 1924, p. 202.

93. JBRs, XXXVII, pp. 34-38.

94. I.A., LVIII, p. 229; JBORS, 1930, pp.67-68; JBRs, XXXVII, pp. 34-38; Sircar D.C. Select Ins. p. 40.

Patañjali who was a contemporary of Puṣya-mitra Śūṅga (187-151 B.C.), refers of the town Madhyamikā-Nāgarī⁹⁵. A large number of punch - marked coins⁹⁶ in and around Madhyamikā-Nāgarī were found. These are assignable to the 2nd century B.C.⁹⁷ Two coins of the Śibis were obtained by Colonel Stacy⁹⁸ in 1834. After 38 years in 1872, seven more coins at Tambavati Nāgarī or Nāgarī near Chitor were obtained by Carlleyle⁹⁹. On these Coins there occurs the complete legend Majhamikāya Śibi-janapadasa. D.R. Bhandarkar¹⁰⁰ and R.L. Samar¹⁰¹ obtained some more coins in and around Chitor. All these coins reveal the existence of the janapada inhabited by a tribe called the Śibis.

95. Mahābhāṣya, 3-2-11.

96. Dasgupta, K.K., A Tribal History of Ancient India, Cal. 1974, pp. 148-52.

97. Allan, J., Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India, London, 1933, P.C. XXIV-V.

98. Prinsep James, Essays on Indian Antiquities, V.I. London, 1858, pp. 112-14, pl. VIII, 2-3.

99. Cunningham, A. Archaeological Survey Reports VI, p. 200.

100. ASI, AR, 1915-16 pl. I, p. 15.

101. JNSI, IX, p. 83 pl. V.

Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya, (2nd century B.C.) refers to Madhyamikā as one of the cities in India overrun by the Greeks in his living memory¹⁰². The Yavana conflict referred to in Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitram seems to have taken place in the latter part of Pushyamitra Śūṅga's reign¹⁰³. As stated in it, the battle took place on the right bank of the river Sindhu. Sindhu may be taken to be the river of the Punjab of the same name. Again, it is not beyond the range of probability that Kālisindhu in central India is the river represented by the Sindhu mentioned by Kālidāsa.

There is difference of opinion among scholars regarding the identification of the Greek king who undertook the invasion of Sāketa and Madhyamikā.

D.R. Bhandarkar¹⁰⁴ suggests that he was Demetrius (C. 195-175 B.C.). K.P. Jayswal¹⁰⁵ and D.C. Sircar¹⁰⁶ held the same opinion. W.W. Tarn¹⁰⁷ held that the Indo-Greek king Appolodotus was the invader. A.K. Narain

102. Arunad Yavanah Sāketam; arunad yavano Madhyamikam Mahābhāṣya 3.2.11.

103. PHAI, p. 336.

104. cf. PHAI, p. 340.

105. E.I., XX, p. 79.

106. Sircar, D.C., Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā, Cal. 1965, p.40.

107. Tarn, W.W. The Greeks in Bactria and India, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 150-51.

suggested¹⁰⁸ that it was Menander who undertook the invasion. In fact, more than one invasion might have been undertaken in the 2nd-1st century B.C. The Yavana leader who penetrated to Sāketa in Oudh and Madhyamikā in Mewār was most probably Demetrius. It is also said by Justin¹⁰⁹ that Demetrius was the "King of Indians". His scheme of conquest in India seems to have been followed by others.

However, the circulation of coins by the branch of the Śibis in Madhyamikā testifies to the rich resources in their possession. Madhyamikā¹¹⁰ was known as a prosperous town to the authors of the Mahābhāṣya, the Bṛihatsaṃhitā and the Barli Inscription¹¹¹. This prosperity might have attracted the eyes of the Greek invaders.

The Ghosundi Stone Inscription¹¹² (middle of 1st century B.C.) mentions that a king named

108. Narain, A.K. The Indo - Greeks, Varanasi, 1957, p. 83.

109. cf. PHAI, pp. 340-41.
Chattopadhyay, B.K.

110. / 'History of the Śibi Settlement in Madhyamikā' in Summaries of Papers, AIOC, XXXII, 1984, pp. 248-249.

111. JBRs, XXXVII, pp. 34-38.

112. I.A., LVIII, p. 229; E.I., XXII, p. 205.

Sarvatāta of the Gajāyana branch performed Asvamedha sacrifice at Madhyamikā. Ghosundi stands about six miles from Nāgari near Chitorgarh. The horse - sacrifice by Sarvatāta, no doubt, indicates his military success. Gajāyana might be a clan of the Śibis. It is also suggested that Sarvatāta of the Gajāyana branch belonged to the Kāṇva family¹¹³. The Asva - medha sacrifice was probably performed by Sarvatāta as a mark of victory against the Greeks. Even if little importance is attached with the epigraphic evidence mentioned above, we have little evidence to suggest that the Śibis withdrew themselves from the Madhyamikā region immediately after the imperial thrust of the Bactrian Greeks.

As inscription found at Bādāi, the date of which is read by G.H. Ojha¹¹⁴ as year 84 of Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa Saṁvat, belonged to the 5th century B.C. D.C. Sircar¹¹⁵ suggests that the inscription is a record of pious deed of an inhabitant of Madhyamikā

113. Somani, R.V. op.cit. p. 22.

114. Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipimālā, pp. 2ff.

115. JBORS, XXXVII, p. 38.

during the reign of King Bhāgavata of the Śūṅga dynasty, and it is possible that the epigraph belonged to 2nd or 1st century B.C.

Although there is no direct evidence of the Kushāṇa rule in Mewār, the discovery of a large number of Kaṇishka's records at Mathurā, one from Bahāwālpur and of an epigraph of Vaṣishka at Sānchi near vidīśā, the ancient capital of East Mālwā, as well as the establishment of a satrapal house of the Śakas in western India about his time seems to suggest that Sindh, Rājputānā, Mālwā and Saurāṣṭra came within the sphere of Kaṇishka's influence¹¹⁶.

It is learnt from the Nāsik Inscription of Rshavadatta or Ushavadāta¹¹⁷, the Śaka chief and governor of northern Mahārāshṭra, that the Kshatrapa ruler Nahapāna (119-224 A.D.) held sway over an extensive territory from Pushkara in the north to Mahārāshṭra in the south. On the basis of this epigraph we may hold that Nahapāna might have acquired

116. Mazumdar, R.C. (ed.) The Age of Imperial Unity, Bombay, 1968, pp. 141-42.

117. Sircar, D.C. Select Inscriptions, Vol.I, Cal. 1965, pp. 91-92.

the territory in and around Mewār, because Mewār was lying within the area mentioned in the epigraph. It is said that Ushavadāta led an expedition against the Malayas, who are identified by some with the Mālavas of Jaipur territory¹¹⁸. They had seized the territory of the Uttamabhadra people living in Ajmer region¹¹⁹. Ushavadāta succeeded in driving away the Mālavas and took a ceremonial bath in Pushkara, made pious gifts and went to Dasapura that is, Māndāsor¹²⁰.

It is learnt from the Junāgadh Inscription of Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman dated A.D. 150¹²¹ that he extended his sway over many regions including the land of the Nishādas. This probably indicates that Mewār was lying within his territory. Not only the Mewār region but also Maru and Kachcha, that is some areas of Jodhpur - Jaisalmer region in Western Rājasthān and Gujrāt formed parts of his Kingdom.

118. Smith. V.A. Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum, Vol.I, Oxford, 1907, pp. 161ff.

119. The Uttamabhadras were the allies of the Śakas in their struggle against the Mālavas.

120. E.I., VIII, p. 78; Sircar, D.C. Select Ins. pp. 41-42.

121. E.I., VIII, 44 line 11.

Though the Mālavas were temporarily overwhelmed by Ushavadāta, they were not completely destroyed. It is known from the Nāndāsā Yupa Pillar Inscription of V.E. 282 (i.e. A.D. 225) that the Mālava republic still maintained their existence¹²². The inscriptions are found at Nāndāsā in Mewār. It is said that the inscription belonged to the Sogi branch of the Mālava tribe. The Mālavas are said to have come in conflict with the Mahākshatrapas of Avanti. The names of the chiefs mentioned in the records are Jayavardhana, his great grandfather Bhṛiguwardhana, his grandfather Jayasoma and his father Nandisoma¹²³. Nandisoma performed a shastī rātra Yajna at Nāndāsā. This Yajna was probably performed to commemorate a victory against the Mahākshatrapas of Ujjain. A record found at Bārṇālā, in the old Jaipur state dated A.D. 227¹²⁴, mentions the name of a ruler whose name ended with Vardhana. The records of the Maukhari branch of the Mālavas

122. E.I., XXVII, p. 252; I.A., LVIII, p. 53.

123. I.H.Q., XXIX, pp. 80-82.

124. E.I., XXIII, p. 52.

dated A.D. 238 **are** found at Badvā in the Kotāḥ State¹²⁵. They defeated some enemies and also performed similar sacrifices. On the basis of these evidences it is suggested that the Mālavas were completely independent in the 3rd century A.D. In fact, the Mālavas were not the original inhabitants of Mewār. Following the Greek invasions, they seem to have migrated from the Punjab and settled first at Jaipur - Kotāḥ area in the north - eastern part of Rājasthān probably in the 3rd - 2nd century B.C. Later on, they entered into the interior of Rājputānā¹²⁶.

In Rājasthān and the adjoining regions, the tribal republics of the Ārjunāyanas, Uddehikas, Mālavas, Śibis, Rājanyas and Yaudheyas together with the Uttamabhadras, known from epigraphic sources appear to have submitted to the Śakas and their successors, the Kushāṇas. Some of these tribes, especially the Ārjunayanas, Mālavas and Yaudheyas, grew powerful with the decline of the Kushāṇa power in that area about the end of the second and the

125. Dasgupta, K.K., op.cit. pp. 109ff.

126. Dasgupta, K.K., op.cit. pp. 109ff.

beginning of the 3rd century A.D. But together with the Madrakas of the Punjab and the Ābhiras of Rājputānā as well as the Nāgas of Padmāvati and other places and several tribes of central and western India, they had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Guptas of Magadha in the 2nd half of the 4th century A.D.¹²⁷

Gupta Period

The Guptas rose to power sometime in the first half of the 4th century A.D. It is learnt from the Allahābād Pillar Inscription¹²⁸ of Samudra Gupta that a number of tribes including the Mālavas and the Ārjunayanas in Mewār might have come under the authority of the Gupta emperor. The gold coins of the Guptas are also found in the region¹²⁹.

That some parts of Mewār seem to have been brought within the dominion of the Kshatriya rulers

127. Mazumdar, R.C. (ed.), The Age of Imperial Unity, Bombay, 1968, pp. 160-61.

128. C.I.I, III. pp. 1-17; Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Vol.I, Cal, 1965, p. 254.

129. JDL., I, p. 218.

(Aulikaras) of Māndāsor in Western Mālava is proved by the Choti-Sādri Inscription of A.D. 491¹³⁰. From the record it is evident that some Kshatriya rulers of Mānavayani Kūla ruled there. It records that Mahārāja Gauri of Mānavayini gotra built the temple of Bhramaramātā probably for religious merit of himself and his parents in 491 A.D. In the inscription mention is made of the kings Puṇyasoma, Rājyavardhana, Rāṣṭravardhana, Yaśogupta and Mahārāja Gauri. Mahārāja Gauri is represented as a son of Yaśogupta. The name of the prince Gobhata is also found in the record, who was probably the successor of Gauri. It has been suggested¹³¹ that the Aulikaras represented a branch of the Mālavas. Again, the suggestion is also made¹³² that there was a clan of the Kshatriyas called Gaura, the dynasty to which Yaśogupta might have belonged.

The Second Inscription¹³³ of this family found at Māndāsor refers to Gauri's maternal grandfather and his mother Harisūra. After the death of

130. E.I., XXX. p. 120.

131. Sircar, D.C., op.cit. p. 42.

132. Cf. Jain, K.C., Ancient Cities and towns of Rajasthan, Delhi, 1972. P.138.

133. E.I., XXX. p. 127.

his mother, king Gauri excavated tanks, dug wells and built mandapas for the merit of his mother during the reign of Narendra Ādityavardhana. The inscription contains the name of Ādityavardhana as an overlord of king Gauri. It seems that Ādityavardhana was appointed as a governor under the authority of the Imperial Guptas.

An inscription found at Madhyamika-Nāgarī dated A.D. 424¹³⁴ mentions that a temple of Vishṇu was built by Satyasūra Śhrīgaudha. But no further details are known from the inscription. Again from another Māṇḍāsor Inscription dated A.D. 467¹³⁵ it is learnt that Prabhākara undertook a military campaign against the enemies of the Guptas. It is, therefore, possible that this Prabhākara was an ally or feudatory of the Guptas and measured sword against the enemies of the Guptas.

134. RMR., 1915-16, p. 2.

135. E.I., XVII. p. 14.

Decline of the Gupta Empire

In the last quarter of the 5th century A.D. the Hūṇas appeared in Indian politics. It is known from the Erān Stone Inscription of A.D. 510¹³⁶ that the Gupta rule was ousted from Eastern Mālwa by the Hūṇas. We come to know from the same record that Bhānugupta's general Goparāj died during the conflict with the Hūṇas and his wife accompanied him on the funeral pyre. It is, therefore, possible that the Hūṇas entered into Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and Rājputānā. From another inscription, the date of which is the first regnal year of the Hūṇa King Tormāna¹³⁷, it is known that Dhānyavishṇu was his vassal, while the brother of Dhānyavishṇu, Mātrivishṇu, was serving as a feudatory under Budhagupta. These evidences prove that sometime in the early 6th century A.D., the Hūṇas were prominent in North - Western India, particularly in Rājputānā and Mālwa. Tormāna was succeeded by Mihirakula who also

136. Erān stands in the Saugar district of Madhya-Pradesh. Fleet, J.F. C.I.I., III. pp. 91ff; Sircar, D.C. Select Inscriptions, Vol.I, Cal, 1965, pp. 396-97.

137. C.I.I., III. pp. 158-60.

extended his sway over a vast territory. From the Gwālior stone Inscription of the 15th regnal year of his reign, we come to know that he made a construction of a Śiva Temple there¹³⁸. He is also said to have destroyed the Buddhist stupas and Jaina temples and constructed Śiva temples in many areas of Rājasthān. Somadeva¹³⁹, the Jaina author, and the contemporary of Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939-967 A.D.), mentions a tradition that the Hūṇas penetrated into the interior of India as far as Chitrakūṭa, which is to be identified with Chitor in Mewār. The reference here is probably to Mihirakula, who flourished in the first half of the 6th century A.D. Not long afterwards, the Aulikara king Yaśodharman Vishṇuvardhana recovered his independent position assuming the title Rājādhirāja Paramesvara and drove the Hūṇa king Mihirakula known from the Māṇḍāsor Inscription of A.D. 532¹⁴⁰.

The same record informs us that Abhayadatta was the Rājasthāniya or Governor of the **Province. It**

138. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Vol.I. Cal, 1965, pp. 400-401, verse 3-5.

139. PHAI, p. 553.

140. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Vol.I. Cal, 1965, pp. 386ff; pp. 394-95, verse - 6.

is stated in verse 19 that Abhayadatta was in charge of the territory bounded by the Vindhya, the Pāriyātra and the Sindhu. Here Vindhya is to be identified with the region beyond the Vindhyan mountain. Pāriyātra stands for the range of the Arāvallis, that included a part of Mewār and Sindhu is to be identified with the river of the same name that falls in the Arabian sea. Probably some parts of Mewār were included in the kingdom of Yaśodharman. According to D.C. Sircar,¹⁴¹ it is further supported by an inscription¹⁴² found at Chitor. The characters of the record are similar to that of the records of Yaśodharman which refers to a Rājasthāniya ruling from Dasapura and Madhyamā, that is Madhyamikā. D.C. Sircar¹⁴³ concludes that from the epigraph it is clear that the headquarters of the Aulikaras were at Nāgari during the reign of Yaśodharman Vishṇu-wardhana who ruled sometime in the second quarter of the 6th century A.D.

141. Sircar, D.C., The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā, Cal, 1965, pp. 43-44.

142. E.I., XXXIV, pp. 53ff.

143. Sircar, D.C., op.cit. p. 44.

It is uncertain when the rule of the Aulikaras came an end. The rule of the Aulikaras was, however, followed by that of the Guhilas who rose to power at Nāgahrada in Mewār. The disintegration of the Gupta empire further created an opportunity for the rise of the Guhilas.

Period of Harṣhavardhana

Harsha reigned in the first half the 7th century A.D. Harsha's rule for 36 years covered a period of warfare for six years and another of peace for 30 years, as suggested in Hiuen - Tsang's Si-yu-ki. Actually Harsha ruled between A.D. 606-647 A.D. that is 41 years.

Harsha's syzerainty was recognised by the Maitraka king of Valabhi of Kāthiāwār. The Maitraka king Dhruvasena II had been defeated by Harsha and took shelter with the Gurjara king Dadda II of Nandipuri in the present Broach District. So Harsha's presence in Gujrāt-Kāthiāwār region might suggest that some parts of Mālwā and Rājasthān came under the authority of the Pushyabhūti king. As the Bhūmat

area in Mewār was not far from the dominions of the Maitraka king, it is not unreasonable to assume that Harsha's authority might have extended to the Mewār region. Moreover, the use of Harsha era in the grants of the Guhila rulers of Kiṣkin-dhā¹⁴⁴ might suggest that they acknowledged for sometime the suzerainty of Harshavardhana (606-647 A.D.). The predecessors of the Guhilas belonging to other branches also seem to have been the feudatories. They, of course, used the Vikrama samvat in their records, which became popular, after the decline of Harsha's power.

Advent of the Guhilas in Indian Politics

The first record of the Guhila line of Nāgdā - Āhār, is the epigraph of Śīlāditya found at Sāmoli in the Bhūmat district of Mewār dated V.S. 703 that is A.D. 646¹⁴⁵, the date that marked the end of the reign of Harshavardhana. It is a private record and not an official document. But the

144. E.I., XXX, p. 1; XXXIV, p. 167; XXXV, p. 55.

145. E.I. XX, p. 97.

next inscription is the Nāgdā Inscription of Aparājita dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 718 that is A.D. 661¹⁴⁶ which is an official document. It would be, therefore, not unreasonable to hold that there was a conscious attempt to replace the use of the Harsha era. The use of the Vikrama Saṁvat in Śīlāditya's Sāmoli Inscription seems to indicate the decline of Harsha's suzerainty over Mewār region. Guhila Śīlāditya had probably the credit of disavowing the allegiance to Harsha - Śīlāditya in Mewār area. As the former used the epithet of the latter as his name, it appears that he might have succeeded to the power of the latter in Mewār and laid the foundation of the greatness of the Nāgdā - Āhār line of the Guhila dynasty.

Territorial distribution of the Guhilas

It would be relevant to consider the position of the centres in Rājputānā where the collateral branches of the Guhila dynasty ruled simultaneously

146. E.I. IV, pp. 31-32.

with the main branch. The main branch ruled in Mewār proper, while the collateral branches ruled in the areas adjacent to Mewār.

Kiṣkindhā

Kiṣkindhā or Kiṣkindhipura, which is to be identified with modern Kalyanpur, stands 42 miles to the south of Udaipur¹⁴⁷. It has been suggested that the ruins of the town near Kalyanpur represent the site of Kiṣkindhā, in the Bhūmat district of Mewār, which is different from Kiṣkindhā of Jodhpur and Kiṣkindhā of ancient southern division of India¹⁴⁸.

Kiṣkindhā formed the capital of a branch of the Guhila family. On palaeographic grounds, it is suggested that the records belonging to the 7th and 8th centuries A.D., Voṇṇa, the wife of Kaḍachi, constructed a Śaiva temple, and also made a grant of forty drammas for future necessities¹⁴⁹ such as carrying out of repairs to the breaks and damages of

147. E.I., XXXV, p. 55.

148. Sircar, D.C., The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā, Cal., 1965, pp. 54-55.

149. E.I., XXXV, p. 56.

the temple. A person named Amneya is said to have built a temple of the god Śiva during the rule of Maṅarāja Paḍḍa, in the 7th century A.D.¹⁵⁰ It is, therefore, possible that the Guhila rulers of Kiṣkindhā were the devotees of Śiva. Devagaṇa, one of the Guhila rulers of Kiṣkindhā, is described as a devout worshipper of Śiva¹⁵¹. This branch was ruling in Kiṣkindhā side by side with the Guhilas of Nāgdā - Āhār region.

Nāsūn

In an inscription at Nāsūn is found two names similar to those of Nagar and Chātsu¹⁵². The dynastic name is not listed. Nāsūn lies in the Ajmer district in Rājasthān,

Dhod

Dhod was originally Dhavagartā, situated in the Jahājpur district of Mewār. It is known from an

150. E.I., XXXIV, pp. 170 and 173.

151. E.I., XXXIV, p. 171.

152. Nāsūn Inscription, I.A., LIX, p. 21.

epigraphic record¹⁵³ of the 8th - 9th century A.D. From the record it appears that during the reign of the Guhila prince, Dhod was a centre of the Śaivas. Except the above mentioned record (where there are the information about the Guhila chief), nothing is known about the Guhila rule at this place. It was possibly later brought under the possession of the Pratihāras and again of the Chāhamānas. The Guhila family of Dhod was probably an off-shoot of the Chātsu family.

Nagar and Chātsu

Nagar and Chātsu are two important centres of Rājasthān which were ruled by the Guhilas of Chātsu side by side with the Guhilas of Mewār. Nagar stands in the Uniyārā Tehsil of the present Tonk district, not very far from Jaipur towards the south. Chātsu is situated about 42 km. south of Jaipur, which was also known in early times as Champāvati.

153. Dabok Inscription of Dhanika - E.I., XX,

pp. 187ff; Dabok stands eight miles east of present Udaipur town.

Both the places are separated from each other by about 50 miles. Two epigraphic records found at Nagar¹⁵⁴ and Chātsu¹⁵⁵ suggest that the Guhilas, referred to, belonged to the same line. The find-spots of the records suggest that they ruled in Jaipur-Tonk region. Though in the Nagar epigraph, the dynastic name is not listed, the Chātsu Inscription of Bālāditya, the last member of this family, clearly states that his ancestors belonged to the Guhila line. On palaeographic grounds, the Chātsu inscription is dated in the 10th century A.D. It is, therefore, possible that the Guhila line began to rule in this area not earlier than 6th-7th centuries A.D. That there were also other centres of Guhila power in Rājputānā, Punjab and Gujrāt is borne out by the epigraphic records of the 12th century A.D. No genealogical list of these branches is available from the inscription. It is also difficult to ascertain their exact relationship with the main branch.

154. Nagar Inscription of 684 A.D. - Bhārata Kaumadi,
pt. I. pp. 267-76.

155. Chātsu Inscription of Bālāditya - E.I. XII,
pp. 10 ff.

Nadulaḍāgika

Nadulaḍāgika is to be identified with Nāḍlāi which is a village situated four miles north - west of Desuri in the Jodhpur division of Rājasthān. It was also known in early times as Nandakūlavati¹⁵⁶, Nadulāi¹⁵⁷ and Nāradapuri¹⁵⁸. The remains of an old fort built by the Songiras are to be found over there. The name of this fort-hill is Jayakāla.

The existence of this small principality of the Guhilas is known from the Nāḍlāi stone Inscription¹⁵⁹ of the Naddula Chāhamāna Rājyapāla dated V.S. 1195 (A.D. 1138). It refers to the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Rājyapāla over Nadulaḍāgika. We come to know from the record that for the worship of Neminātha, the Thakkura Rājadeva, son of Rāuta Uddharana of the Guhila family, granted $\frac{1}{20}$ th part of the income. Originally the Guhilas ruled in Nāḍlai in the capacity of feudatories under the Chāhamānas.

156. Inscription of V.S. 1557, - Pras, WC, 1909, p. 42.

157. Ibid,

158. Jain, K.C., op.cit. p. 289.

159. E.I., XI, pp. 36-37.

There were other two Naḍlāi stone Inscriptions¹⁶⁰ dated in V.S. 1200 and 1202, referring to the Naddula Chāhamāna Rājyapāla. The second inscription dated A.D. 1145 (V.S. 1202) records that Rāuta Rājadeva was the Thakkura of Naḍulaḍāgika in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Rājyapāla. The first inscription of A.D. 1143 (V.S. 1200)¹⁶¹ states that Rāuta Rājadeva made a grant of one Viṃśopaka in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Rājyapāla. No detailed information of this branch of the Guhilas are available from the records.

Mangrol

Mangrol, known in ancient time as Mangalapura, is a town of Junāgaḍh district in south Kāthiāwār. It is learnt from an epigraphic record found near the Gadis Gate in Mangrol, that some Guhila rulers ruled in this area as feudatories under the Chaulukyas in the 12th century A.D. The inscription belonging to Guhila Thakkura Mulaka is

160. Ibid, pp. 41-43.

161. According to Dr. H.C. Ray Viṃśopaka was probably a kind of coin.

dated A.D. 1145¹⁶². It indicates that Mulaka was a feudatory under Chaulukya Kumārapāla. A short genealogy of the Guhilas is found in the record. Mulaka had two predecessors, Sāhāra and Sahajiga. Sahajiga is described as commander of the Chaulukya forces, probably under Jayasīṃha Siddharāja, the predecessor of Kumārapāla. As Mulaka (A.D. 1145) was a contemporary of Kumārapāla, it is possible that Sāhāra flourished in the early 12th century A.D.

Āsikā

The existence of the Guhila principality at Āsikā or Hansi in the Hissar district of the Punjab is known from Hansi Stone Inscription dated A.D. 1167 of the time of Sākambhari Chāhamāna Prithvirāja II¹⁶³. From this inscription it is known that Kilhaṇa of the Guhilauta clan was the maternal uncle of Chāhamāna Prithvirāja¹⁶⁴. The object of the inscription is to record that Kilhaṇa erected a pratoli

162. Bhav. Ins., pp. 158-160; DHNI, II. p. 1200.

163. I.A., XLI, 1912, pp. 17 ff.

164. Ibid, p. 18.

or gateway and near it two kasthakas or granaries. The inscription also praises Kilhaṇa and compares him with Hanumāna and Prithvirāja with Rāma. Kilhaṇa was in charge of the fort of Āsikā which is identified, according to Bhandarkar, with Hansi. The Guhila chief is said to have burnt Panchapura which has been identified with Panchapattana on the Sutlej¹⁶⁵.

From the inscription it appears that Guhila Kilhaṇa was a feudatory under Chāhamāna Prithvirāja II. Probably, the existence of this branch at Hansi came to an end, when Siḥābuddīn Muḥammad Ghori captured the fort of Hansi after defeating Chāhamāna Prithvirāja III in the second battle of Tarāin, in A.D. 1192.

Śeśodā

Śeśodā was actually the Jaigir in Mewār. It is known from the Ekalingamahātmya¹⁶⁶ which was

165. Ibid. Cf. DHNI II, pp. 1202-1203.

166. HR. II, p. 447.

composed during the reign of Rāṇā Kumbhā that from the time of Medapāṭa Guhila Karṇa¹⁶⁷ alias Raṇasīmha, the Guhilas were divided into two Sections, viz. Rāwāl and Rāṇā. To the Rāwāl branch belonged the rulers named Jitasīmha, identified with Jaitrasīmha, Samarasīmha and Ratanasīmha, while to the Rāṇā branch belonged Māhapa, Rāhapa and others. The Rāwāls ruled in the fort of Chitrakūṭa, while the Rāṇās were the chiefs of Śeśodā under the Rāwāls and came to be known as belonging to the Śeśodiā family. Actually Māhapa and Rāhapa, the two sons of Karṇa, held in succession the fief of Śeśodā which was assigned to them by their father. The descendants of Rāhapa or Rāhup came to be known as Śeśodiās from the name of their Jaigir. After the destruction of Chitor by Alāuddin Khalji during the time of Ratanasīmha in A.D. 1303, Hāmmira of the Śeśodā family sometime in the later period revived the power of the Guhilas in Mewār¹⁶⁸.

167. DHNI. II, p. 1204.

168. DHNI, II, pp. 1179-80.

Vāgaḍa

Vāgaḍa is to be identified with the region of modern Dungarpur - Bānswārā that lies in the southern part of Rājasthān. According to Nainsi, Guhila Sāmantasīmha voluntarily abdicated the throne of Mewār in favour of his younger brother and retired to Vāgaḍa¹⁶⁹. From an inscription of Sāmantasīmha found at Solaj dated A.D. 1179,¹⁷⁰ it is learnt that he came to Vāgaḍa and founded a line.

We may now review the centres of Guhila power in and around Mewār. Chātsu, that is, Jaipur - Tonk region in the north-eastern side of Mewār was one of the centres. In the southern side of Mewār near Dungarpur border was located Kiṣkindhā. Dhoḍ included some parts of Mewar. The kingdom of the Nāgdā - Āhār comprising the modern districts of Udaipur, Chitor and Bhilwārā with some parts of Sirohi (Bhūmat area where the inscription of Śīla dated A.D. 646 is found) was ruled over by the Guhilas after the main branch.

169. Ibid. pp. 1183-84.

170. RMR, 1915, p. 3.

Chapter - II

Origin of the Guhilas

Scholars have put forward different views with regard to the origin of the Guhilas. Some favour their indigenous origin, while others uphold their foreign origin. Among those, who believe in their indigenous origin, some assume that the Guhilas were brāhmaṇa by caste, whereas others are of opinion that they were Kshatriyas. The views require to be re-assessed in the light of the available records.

Bardic tradition : Indigenous origin

The bardic tradition about the origin of the Guhilas is recorded by Tod in his Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan. According to it¹, "the rulers of Mewār were Raghuvam̐si section of the Solar race through Sumitra, Kaṇakasena and Śilāditya,

1. Tod, James., Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I. (First Published - London, 1829), pp. 228ff.

the last Valabhi king of Gujrāt. They are ranked as the first of the thirty-six Rājput tribes. Kaṇakaseṇa of the Solar dynasty came to Saurāṣṭra from Loha-koṭa (Lahore in modern Pakistan). He took possession of the kingdom of a Paramāra prince and founded the city of Vīranagara in A.D. 144. Four generations later, Vijayasena, founded Vijayapura at the head of Saurāṣṭra Peninsulā. In Saurāṣṭra, he founded Vidarbha, the name of which was later changed to Seehore, but his capital was at Valabhi. During the reign-period of Rājā Śīlāditya, Valabhi was invaded and destroyed by the barbarians. The records preserved by the Jains give A.D. 524 as the date of this event. All fell in the sack of Valabhi, except Pushpavatī, the queen of Rājā Śīlāditya and the daughter of Paramāra Prince of Chandrāvatī. She had gone at that time for a pilgrimage to the place of Ambā Bhawānī and remained safe. Taking refuge in a cave in the mountains of Mālliā, she delivered a son, who came to be known as 'Guha' or 'Cave-born'. The child grew up in charge of Kamalāvatī, the married daughter of a brāhmaṇa of Vīranagara. At a young age, he was elected king by the Bhils of Idar. During the period of the despotic rule of Nāgāditya, the eighth

prince of the line, the Bhils rising in rebellion killed him. Bāppā, the child of Nāgāditya, was then only three years of age. Under the protection of the descendants of Kamalāvatī, the hereditary priests of Guhila's successors, Bāppā was removed to the hilly region known as Nāgindra (Modern Nāgdā, near Udaipur). While tending cows, he met with Hārita, a sage and worshipper of god Ekalinga. Bāppā became a disciple of that sage and through his favour obtained invulnerability and other supernatural gifts. After the death of Hārita, Bāppā entered the service of his uncle, the Mori prince of Gritor, the name of whom was Māna. After successfully repulsing a barbarian expedition from Gajni, he dethroned the Mori king and seized the crown. Thus was laid the foundation of the Guhila dynasty in Mewār".

From the above, we may derive the following :

- a) There was a connection between the Guhila kings of Mewār and the Valabhi kings of Gujrāt.
 - b) Guha's mother Pushpavatī was the wife of Śīlāditya, the Valabhi king of Gujrāt and therefore, Guha was the son of Śīlāditya, the last Valabhi king of Gujrāt.
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- c) Śīlāditya belonged to the Raghuvamśī section of the Solar race through Sumitra, Kaṇakasena etc. Therefore, Guha belonged to the Raghuvamśī section of the Solar race. As the Guhilas belonged to the Solar race, they were Kshatriyas.
- d) Guha's eighth successor Nāgāditya was killed following a rebellion by the Bhils.
- e) Bāppā, the child of Nāgāditya, was brought up by their hereditary priests.
- f) Bāppā met Hārīta Ṛishi and received his blessings.
- g) After the death of Hārīta, Bāppā entered the service of his uncle and repulsing a foreign **dethroned** invasion/ the Mori king and seized his crown to lay the foundation of the Guhila kingdom in Mewār.

Nainsi, a contemporary of Rāṇā Yaśovantasimha of Mārwar, relates in the seventeenth century A.D. the story about the origin of the Guhilas in his Khyātā². In his opinion, the ancestor of the Guhilas was a king, who used to worship the Sun-god. But as

2. KhyātāI (Trans. by R. Dugāḍa), pp. 10ff.

a Nāgdā-Brāhmaṇa reared up the child of the king and as the progeny of the king adopted the brāhmanical rites and rituals for ten generations, they were called Nāgdā Brāhmaṇas. The tradition about this indigeneous Brāhmaṇa origin of the Guhilas recorded by Nainṣi is as follows :

"Śisōdiās in the early period were known as Gahilots. Their forefather used to worship the Sun ; their kingdom was located in the Deccan towards Nāsik-Tryambak. On incantation, the Sun used to present himself in person and no one could win him in the battle. He was a ruler of vast lands. He had no son and to beget one, he prayed to the Sun. On this Sun said that he should promise a pilgrimage to goddess Ambā near Idar and wish a son and this would lead to the conception by the queen. The king promised the pilgrimage and the beloved queen conceived. When the queen proceeded on pilgrimage, the king did not worship the Sun, hence the enemies attacked him. The king was killed in the battle and his fort Bansala was taken by the enemies. The queen reached Nāgdā on pilgrimage to Ambā, where she received the message of the death of her husband. On a funeral pyre she was to commit satī. To stop

her from doing so, the Brāhmaṇas told her that a woman bearing a child was prohibited to commit satī and the days of her delivery were near. After fifteen days, she bore a child. On the completion of fifteen to twenty days after that she bathed and got a pyre prepared. During this time, the Brāhmaṇa Vijayāditya was praying for a son in the temple of Koṭeśvara Mahādeva. The queen called him and gave him the child. But at the same time the Brāhmaṇa thought that as the child was the son of a king, that is Rājput, who being younger would hunt animals and fight with others and then he would fall in sin and his religion would vanish ; therefore, then and there he wanted to hand over the child again to his mother. The queen assured him that if she was a satī, the princes who would be born in his family would follow the Brāhmaṇa dharma for ten generations and then she became satī. The descendants of that son of Vijayāditya followed brāhmaṇical rites and rituals for ten generations and were known as Nāgdā Brāhmaṇas. Nainsi states that the son of the same Vijayāditya was Guhilot Somadatta and in his line were born Śilāditya and his progeny".

From the account given by Nainṣi, we may derive the following :

- a) The Guhilas were Sun-worshippers.
- b) Their original home was in Nāsik-Tryambak in the Deccan.
- c) A Guhila child (Somadatta) was brought up by a Nāgdā-Brāhmaṇa named Vijayāditya as his adopted son.
- d) Somadatta and his progeny followed brāhmaṇical rites and rituals for ten generations, as the word was given by the mother of Somadatta to Brāhmaṇa Vijayāditya.
- e) In this line of Somadatta was born Śilāditya and his progeny.
- f) The Guhilas were not originally Brāhmaṇas.

If we compare the bardic tradition with the account of Nainṣi, we find both similarities and dissimilarities between the two as indicated below :

Similarities :

- a) Both relate non-Brāhmin indigenous origin of the Guhilas.
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- b) Both suggest that the early Guhilas were intimately associated with the Brāhmaṇas.

Dissimilarities :

- a) While bardic tradition indicates the origin of the Guhilas from Valabhi in Gujrāt, Naiṇsi's account points to the Deccan as the place of their origin.
- b) In the bardic tradition we find mention of the king 'Śilāditya and his queen Pushpavatī whose son was Guha. But in Naiṇsi's account the names of the king and the queen are conspicuous by their absence, although the name of their son Somadatta is found.
- c) The son of Śilāditya and Pushpavatī, Guhadatta or Guha, was brought up by Kamalāvatī of Vīrnagar. But Guhila Somadatta is said to have been brought up by Nāgdā Brāhmaṇa Vijayāditya.

We may next take into consideration two literary sources, Rājavilāsa Kāvya and Virvinod. In the Rājavilāsa Kāvya (composed during the time of Rāṇā Rājasimha, sometime in the 17th century A.D.),

Guhadatta, the originator of the Guhila family, is connected with the royal house of Valabhi³. Kavirāj Śhyāmaladās in his Virvinod has suggested that the rulers of Mewār come from Valabhi, and that the king after whose death, the early rulers of the Guhila line came to Mewār was other than Śīlāditya. He also suggests that the Guhilas represented one of the thirtysix⁴ Rājput clans.

The Ekaliṅgamāhātmya⁵ (composed during the reign of Rāṇā Kumbhā in the 15th century A.D.) describes Vijayāditya, a mythical ancestor of the Guhilas, as Nāgara-kūla-mandana. The translation of the text from Verse I to Verse 8 is given below :

"Triumphant are the god Śrī Ekaliṅga (Gotra) and the family called Vaijavāpa famous in the world⁶, purifying the people on the whole of the earth and of much greatness.

Triumphant is the Brāhmaṇa named Vijayāditya, the ornament of the Nāgara family in Ānandapura, a

3. HR. I. p. 388.

4. Both the Rājavilāsakāvya and the Virvinod/ suggest I. pp. 186 and 239 ff.
non-brāhmaṇic indigenous origin of the Guhilas.

5. Cf. JASB, (1909), pp. 167 ff.

6. Śrī Ekaliṅgadeveṇa gotraṁ Vaijavāpaham.

god on earth, and proficient in sacrificial and other rites. His son was the best of the Brāhmaṇas, Keśava by name. His son was Nāga Rāula and then (followed the genealogy) Bhoga Rāula, Āśādhara, Śrī Deva, Mahādeva, and then the ornament of the family was Guhadatta, by whose name this race is still known in the world. Triumph to Guhadatta, who was delighter to the Brāhmaṇa family coming from Ānandapura and the founder of the illustrious Guhila race, which was said by the old poets"⁷.

From the Ekalingamahātmya it appears that

- a) Vijayāditya, the mythical ancestor of the Guhilas, was the ornament of the Nāgara family of Ānandapura.
- b) The gotra of the Guhilas was Vaijavāpa.
- c) The genealogy of the ancestors of Guhadatta indicates the following order : Vijayāditya, Keśava, Nāga-Rāula, Bhoga Rāula, Āśādhara, Śrī Deva and Mahādeva.

7. Yaduktam Purātanai Kabivih ! Ānandapura Samāgata
Viprakūlanandana Mahidevah ! Jayati Śrī Guhadatta
Pravabah Śrī Guhila Vamśasya.

d) Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila dynasty, is said to be a delighter of the Brāhmaṇa family that is, he belonged to the Brāhmaṇa family hailing from Ānandapura. The Brāhmaṇic indigenous origin of the Guhilas is thus suggested by the Ekaliṅgamāhātmya.

The Rājaprasasti Mahākāvya composed by Pandit Rinachoda gives an account of the kings of the Sūrya dynasty from a very remote period. The genealogy given in the Rājaprasasti is copied down in two epigraphs of the 17th century A.D. found near Rājnagar in Mewār⁸. It gives the genealogy of the Sūrya dynasty from Vijaya to Guhāditya. The sons of Guhāditya are called Guhilots of whom Bāppā was the eldest one. It indicates non-Brāhmaṇic indigenous origin of the Guhilas.

The 'Rasika-Priyā', a commentary on Jayadeva's Gita-Govinda, was composed by Rānā Kumbha-karṇa. In it Bāppā is referred to as Dviḥ-puṅgava and as belonging to Vaijavāpa gotra⁹. It appears therefore,

8. 'Rāysāgar Talāo Ins. V.S. 1732 (A.D. 1675)' Bhāv. Ins. p. 145 see also 'Rājaprasasti Ins. of Udaipur, Slab III Canto II', E.I. XXX, p. 93.

9. JASB, (1909), p. 173.

Bāppā, belonging to the Guhila line, was a leading Brāhmaṇa of the Vaijavāpa gotra. The gotra Vaijavāpa is also the gotra of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Ānandapura. It suggests the Brāhmanic indigenous origin of the Guhilas.

In the Tuzuk¹⁰, we find that the early kingdom of the Guhilas was in the Deccan. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to assume that Naiṇsi borrowed his data of the Guhilas from Tuzuk.

In the Fārikh-l-Mālwā composed by Munshi Karimuddin in the middle of the 19th century A.D. there is a tradition of the Brāhmaṇa origin of the Guhilas¹¹.

In the 17th century, Thomas Roe¹², Bernier¹³ and other European travellers left their accounts telling us that the Rāṇā claimed descent from Puru who ruled on the bank of the Hydaspes at the time of

10. Tuzuk I, Tr. Rogers and Beveridge, p. 250.

11. Banerjee, A.C., Lectures on Rajput History, Cal., 1962, pp. 24-26.

12. Roe, T., Embassy, London, 1899, p. 102.

13. Bernier. F., Travels ed. (Constable and Smith) Westminster, 1891, p. 208.

Alexander's invasion. The accounts suggest non-brāhmaṇic indigenous origin of the Guhilas.

An analysis of the above-mentioned sources leave no scope of doubt about the indigenous origin of the Guhilas, whether Brāhmaṇa or Kshatriya by caste.

Tradition of Foreign origin

Writing in the latter half of the 16th century A.D. Ābul Fazl suggested that the Guhila dynasty was descended from the family of Noshirwān-l-Ādil, the emperor of Iran. Again, he stated that as a Brāhmaṇa, at the beginning of the history of the Guhilas, nurtured their house, they are accounted as belonging to this caste¹⁴.

The Persian origin of the Guhilas, as stated by Ābul Fazl, is further elaborated by the author of Māsir-ul-Umarā. Lakshmī Nārāyaṇ Sufi Aurangabadi, the author of the Bisātul Ganāim, also

14. ĀIN-I-Ākbari, II, p. 269.

confirmed the view (A.D. 1790). We are told that the Rāṇās of Mewār were the ancestors of Śivaji and they were supreme among the princes of Hind. They deduced their origin from Noshirwān-I-Ādil, who had conquered many parts of Hindustan. Noshirwān married the daughter of Keśar belonging to Rum (Turkey). His son by that wife was Noshizad who came with a large force to India. Later, he attacked his father in Iran but was killed. But his descendants remained in India and were known as the Rāṇās of Mewār¹⁵.

Tod again mentions a different tradition regarding the foreign origin of the Guhilas. He states¹⁶ that it was morally impossible that the Rāṇās should have their lineage from any male branch of the Persian house. It is said that Iranian ruler Yezdegird's fugitive daughter Maṇabānu married the ruler of Saurāṣṭra. She might be Śubhagaṇa, mother of Śilāditya.

As regards Persian origin of the Guhilas, it is stated in the Opodes Prasad, a collection of

15. AR. I, p. 253.

16. AR. I, p. 257.

historic fragments in the Magadhi dialect, that Śubhagaṇa was the only child of Brāhmiṇ Devādit of Kaira in Gujrāt¹⁷. But Tod has identified Mahābāṇu, the daughter of Yezdegird with Śubhagaṇa, the daughter of Brāhmaṇa Devādit. It is stated¹⁸ that of the eldest daughter of Yezdegird, Mahā Bāṇu, the Parsees have no accounts, although the books of Hind give evidence of her arrival in that country and hint that from her issue is the tribe Śesōdiā.

Epigraphic evidence: Brāhmiṇ or Kshatriya Origin

In the light of the epigraphic records, scholars have expressed divergent views in regard to the origin of the Guhilas. While some are of opinion that they were descended from the Brāhmiṇ family, others hold that they were of Kshatriya origin and were descended either from the Solar or the Lunar race. There is, of course, another group of scholars who suggest Brahma-kshatra origin of the Guhilas. Scholars in favour of the Brāhmaṇa origin of the

17. Ibid. p. 251.

18. Ibid. p. 255.

Guhilas are led by D.R. Bhandarkar¹⁹, while those who more or less follow Pandit G.H. Ojha²⁰ suggest the Kshatriya origin of the Guhilas, belonging to the solar or the Lunar race.

19. Bhandarkar, D.R. 'Guhilots', JASB (1909), p. 167; Ray, H.C. Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol.II Cal. 1931, p. 1155; Sharma, D., Rajasthan Through the Ages, Bikaner, 1966, p. 234; Sharma, G.N., 'The fragmentary 2nd slab of Kumbhalgarh Inscription', Proceedings of Indian History Congress (1951), pp. 367-72; 'The Fragmentary Second slab of Kumbhalgarh Inscription, V.S. 1517 and the Origin of the Guhilots', Glories of Mewar, Agra, pp. 17-24; Rājasthān Kā Itihās Vol.I, Agra, 1973, pp. 38-39; Asopa, J.N., Origin of the Rajputa (Delhi, 1976), p. 116; Sharma, Malati, 'Origin of the Guhilas', I.H.Q. XXVIII, pp. 81-86; Sircar, D.C., The Guhilas of Kiskindhā, Cal. 1965, pp.1-11; Banerjee, A.C., Lectures on Rajput History., Cal. 1962, pp. 24-25.
20. Ojha, G.H., Rājputāne Kā Itihās, Ajmer, 1936, Vol.I. p. 377 ; Vaidya, C.V., History of Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol. II. New Delhi, 1979. pp. 83-89 ; Somani, R.V., History of Mewar, Jaipur, 1976, pp. 31-33 ; Halder, R.R., 'The Guhila Kings of Mewar', I.A. LVI (1927), pp. 20-30 ; Mathur, M.L., 'Origin of the Guhilots', I.H.Q. XXVI, pp. 263ff ; Ray Chaudhuri, G.C., 'Guhilot origins', D.R. Bhandarkar Volume (1940), pp. 311-316.

Brāhmin origin

The Ātpur Inscription²¹ (A.D. 977), referring to Guhadatta as Viprakūlanandana or Viprakūlānandana, suggests that he belonged to the Brāhmin family hailing from Ānandapura. 'Vipra' should stand for Brāhmaṇa, although it has been taken by some to mean 'sage' or 'wise man'. Again, the expression 'Mahidevaḥ' may reasonably be explained as a Brāhmin instead of a king as suggested by some scholars.

Again, the Chitorgarh Inscription (V.S.1331)²² and the Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342)²³ refer to Bāppā as a Brāhmin. The first one describes him as a vipra, hailing from Ānandapura, while the other record suggests the exchange of his brāhminhood for Kshatra-splendour. Besides, in the Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1331)²⁴, Ambāprasāda is said to have destroyed the Kshatriyas like Paraśurāma (Bhṛigupatirivadriptaḥ Kshatrasaṁhārakārī). It implies probably that as Paraśurāma was a Brāhmaṇa but discharged the functions

21. I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

22. 'Verses 9 to 11', Bhāv.Ins., pp. 74ff.

23. 'Verses 10 to 11', I.A. XVI, pp. 347ff.

24. 'Verse 50', Bhāv.Ins., pp. 74ff.

of a Kshatriya, so also was Ambāprasāda. Similarly, in the Chātsu Inscription²⁵ of Guhila Bālāditya of the 10th century A.D., Bharṭṛipatṭa, the founder of the Chātsu branch, is described as Brahma-Kshatra like Paraśurāma. In the Ekaliṅga Inscription (V.S. 1545)²⁶ Bāppā is called dvija, that is, 'twice born', generally referring to a Brāhmaṇa. Pandit G.H. Ojha refers to an epigraph (1186 A.D.)²⁷ from Pushkar. He notices in it the mention of a Thākura of the Gautama gotra belonging to the Guhila family. 'Thākura' is an epithet generally applied in the case of the most honourable man in the society, that is, in all probability, a Brāhmaṇa.

D.R. Bhandarkar²⁸ suggests that Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewār, was a Nāgara Brāhmaṇ from Vādnagar and that he was a Mer of foreign origin. Both the Nāgaras and the Maitrakas of Valabhī are held to be foreigners, who appeared in India along with the Hūṇas in the 6th century A.D. Although it is admitted that the family of the Rāṇās

25. E.I. XII; p. 10.

26. 'Verse 12', Bhāv. Ins., p. 118.

27. Cf. Bhandarkar's List No. 407.

28. JASB (1909), pp. 167 ff.

was not descended from Śīlāditya, the last prince of Valabhī, the connection between Mewār and Valabhī dynasties is recognized by Bhandarkar. As pointed out by him, the names of certain Nāgara Brāhmaṇa donees end with 'Mitra', while the Valabhī princes are referred to as Maitrakas in their records. 'Mitra' and 'Maitraka' are supposed to be appellations used by allied clans deriving their origin from a common foreign stock. As both 'Mitra' and 'Mihira' denote the sun, the Maitrakas are identified with the Mihiras, a well-known tribe, also known as Mehers or Mers.

Kshatriya origin

Pandit G.H. Ojha²⁹ suggests the solar origin of the Kshatriya Guhilas mainly on the basis of the Ekaliṅga Inscription of Naravāhana (A.D. 971)³⁰ and the gold coin attributed to Bāppā³¹. It is stated in line 13 of Naravāhana's Ekaliṅga Inscription :

Yoginah Sapanugrahabhūmāyo Himasāila Vandhojja
Valādāqireraseto Raquvamāsa Kīrtipisunātrivram tapah.

29. HR. I, p. 377.

30. Line 13, Bhāv.Ins., p. 69.

31. JASB (1927), Pt.II, p.273; NS XXIII, pp.14-18;
NPP I, (1921), No.3, pp. 241-285.

The expression Raghuvaṁśa-Kīrtipisunāh, Ojha thinks, is applied to the ascetics of Ekalinga where the heads of monasteries are called 'the abode of favour and curse', the acclamer of the fame of Raghuvaṁśa from the Himālayas to Setubandha-Rāmeśvara. Ojha suggests that Raghuvaṁśa in this context stands for the family of Mewār, that is, the Guhila line. Further, the occurrence of the solar symbol on the gold coin of Bāppā is held to be a corroboration of the epigraphic evidence that the Guhila line to which Bāppā belonged was descended from the solar race of Epic and Purāṇic fame.

In the Ātour Inscription (977 A.D.)³², Naravāhana is referred to as Kshatrakshetram. Ojha thinks that Kshatrakshetram stands for Kshatriyaka utpattisthāna, that is, 'originator of the Kshatriyas'³³. In the Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1335)³⁴, Siṁha is called a Kshatriya. In the Śrīngi Kishi Inscription of Mokāla³⁵ (V.S. 1485), Kshetra-siṁha is described as Kshatriyavaṁśamandanamoni. In

32. 'Verse 6', I.A. XXXIX, pp. 191ff.

33. Cf. Ray Chaudhuri G.C., 'Guhilot origins', D.R. Bhandarkar Volume (1940), pp. 311-316.

34. JASB, LV Pt.I, p. 48.

35. E.I. XXIII, pp. 234-237.

the Nādlai Inscription of Rāimāla³⁶ (V.S. 1557), Guhadatta, Bāppā and Khummāna are described as sūryavaṃśī Rājās. In another Nādlāi Inscription³⁷ of the time of Rāimāla, a Guhila Prince is given the epithet Mr̥igāṅkavaṃśa dyotakāraka. Mr̥igāṅkavaṃśa appears to stand for the Lunar race, to which the Guhilas might have belonged. Mr̥igāṅka is also found to be used as an epithet of Mokāla in the Kumbhalgarh Inscription (1460 A.D.)³⁸. An early inscription found from Nāgdā dated A.D. 1026³⁹ has a reference of the ruler of the solar race. This epigraph is said to have furnished the earliest evidence supporting the traditional account of the origin of the Guhilas. In the Nāgpur Museum Inscription of 13th century A.D.⁴⁰, belonging to the Guhilot family migrated from Chitor, the Guhilotṣ are referred to as Kshatriyas. In another

36. NPP, I, p. 268.

37. RMR, 1931-32, p. 4.

38. '4th slab', E.I. XXI, p. 284.

39. Journal of U.P. Historical Society, Vol. X, p. 25.

40. NPP. VI, No. 1, p. 4.

fragmentary inscription of the time of Mokāla, it is stated, that Guhila the 'head of the princes' belonged to the Saptasvavamsa (that is solar line)⁴¹.

Assessment of the extant theories

The theory of foreign origin of the Guhilas propounded by Bhandarkar, as already referred to, is not beyond criticism. It has been opined on the basis of the Ālinā Charters⁴² that the names of certain Nāgara Brāhmaṇa donees end in 'Mitra'⁴³. Mitra was the name by which the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas were distinguished from other sub-castes of Brāhmaṇas. On the otherhand, the Vaijavāpa gotra Nāgara Brāhmaṇas' names end in āditya, as 'it is learnt from the Ekalingamāhātmya. In the Ālinā Charters⁴⁴, the gotra of the Brāhmaṇ donees was Sarkarākkhi. If the Guhilas were descended from the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, they can hardly be treated as descended from the Mers, who are known to have formed a well-known

41. Cf. Ray Chaudhuri, G.C., 'Guhilot Origins' - D.R. Bhandarkar Volume (1940), pp. 313-314.

42. I.A. VII, pp. 66 ff.

43. JASB, (1909), pp. 167 ff.

44. I.A. VII, pp. 66-86.

outcaste people of Kātniāwār. Again, if the Guhilas are held to be of foreign origin, they can not be recognized as Brāhmaṇas. The law-givers like Maṇu recognized the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas as 'degraded Kshatriyas' only⁴⁵. Secondly, there is little ground for believing that 'Maitra' and 'Mitra' denote allied clans and sprang from the same foreign tribe. Thirdly, the connection of the Guhilas with the Maitrakas are based upon a tradition which is not beyond doubt. There remains some chronological difficulties in linking the Guhilas with the Maitrakas.

Bhandarkar theorises that 'there is hardly a class or caste in India, which has not a foreign strain in it'⁴⁶. The view questions the foundation of Indian social fabric itself and diffuses the distinction between indigenous and foreign stocks. This is, to say the least, an over-statement in spite of the widely recognized foreign elements in the Hindu population.

45. Maṇu X, 'Verses 43-45', pp. 412-413.

46. Bhandarkar, D.R., 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population', Journal of Ancient Indian History Vol. I, Parts 1-2 (1967-68), p. 69.

The theory of Kshatriya origin of the Guhilas, as stated by Pandit G.H. Ojha, also deserves criticism. Ojha⁴⁷ stresses main emphasis mainly on an expression in Naravāhana's Ekalinga Inscription (971 A.D.) and the occurrence of the solar symbol on a gold coin attributed to Bāppā. The expression Raghuvamśa-kīrti-Pisunāh, actually an epithet of Setu (that is, Adam's bridge, regarded in Epic and Purāṇic tradition as built by Rāma of Ayodhyā), has been supposed to indicate the Suryavamśa origin of the Guhilas⁴⁸. Again, even if the gold coin in question attributed to Bāppā is considered to be genuine, the said solar symbol occurring on it might indicate the personal religious faith of the issuer of the coin instead of the line of his descent.

In the Ātpur Inscription⁴⁹ (977 A.D.), Naravāhana is referred to as Kshatrakshetram which, according to Ojha⁵⁰, means 'originator of the Kshatriyas'. It implies that the Guhila family to which Naravāhana belonged was Kshatriya by caste.

47. HR. I, p. 377, HMHI. II, p. 332.

48. Cf. Sircar, D.C., op.cit., p. 5.

49. I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

50. HR. I, p. 377.

In the Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1335)⁵¹, śimha is simply styled as 'Kshatriya'. There remains doubt about the genuineness of the Nāgḍā Inscription⁵² (A.D. 1026) and the Nāgpur Museum Inscription⁵³ of the 13th century A.D. From the epigraphs like the Śringi Rīṣhi Inscription of Mokāla (V.S. 1485)⁵⁴, the Nādlāi Inscription of Rāimāla (V.S. 1557)⁵⁵, it may be inferred that the Guhilas began to claim their solar and Kshatriya origin at a late period. But no such claim can be traced in the early records of the Guhilas. In the Śāmoli Inscription of Śilāditya (A.D. 646)⁵⁶, which is the earliest known epigraphic record of the Guhila dynasty, are to be found the military activities ascribed to Śila in the capacity of a Rājā. But such activities were not unknown in the career of a Brāhmaṇa like Parāśurāma. In the Nāgḍā Inscription of Aparājita (A.D. 661)⁵⁷, we find

51. JASB. LV, Pt.I, p. 48.

52. E.I. IV, pp. 31-32.

53. NPP. VI, No.1, p. 4.

54. E.I. XXIII, pp. 234-237.

55. NPP. I, p. 268 fn. 53.

56. E.I. XX, p. 97.

57. E.I. IV, pp. 31-32.

the expression Guhilānvaya, that is, 'the family or dynasty of the Guhilas', without any specific mention of their caste, Brāhmin or Kshatriya. In the Śringi Rishi Inscription dated A.D. 1428 (V.S. 1485)⁵⁸, Kshetrasimha is only described as Kshatriyavamsa-mandanamoni, that is, 'the Jewel of the Kshatriya Race'.

It is true that the Guhila princes established matrimonial relations with other dynasties who were of Kshatriya origin. Mahālakshmī, the queen of Bhartṛipatṭa II, was born in the Rāshṭra-kūṭa family⁵⁹. Naravāhana married the daughter of Chāhamāna King Jejaya⁶⁰. Guhila, the grandfather of Bālāditya of the Chātsu line, had matrimonial relation with the Paramāras, while Bālāditya himself married Ratṭava, daughter of the Chāhamāna king Śivarāja⁶¹. Of course, the matrimonial alliances of

58. E.I. XXIII, pp. 234-237.

59. 'Verse 4, Ātpur Inscription of A.D. 977',

I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

60. Ibid. Verse 6.

61. 'Verse 24 and verse 33 of the Chātsu Inscription of Bālāditya', E.I. XII, p. 10.

the Guhilas with the dynasties of Kshatriya origin might indicate their caste, although the probability of inter-caste marriages in case of ruling dynasties can not be ruled out. It would not be unreasonable to assume that since the time of Bāppā, the Guhilas began to embrace Kshatriyahood by forsaking the Brāhmanical rituals. This is evident furnished by Verse II of the Mount Abu Inscription of V.S.1342⁶².

Theory of Brahma-Kshatra origin

In the Chātsu Inscription⁶³ of Bālāditya, belonging to the Chātsu branch of the Guhilas, we find the expression Brahma-Kshatra or Brahma-Kshatr-ānvita. In this record Bhartripaṭṭa, the earliest ruler of the line, is described as Brahma-Kshatr-ānvita. The expression Brahmakshatriya has been explained differently thus⁶⁴ :

62. I.A. XVI, p. 347.

63. 'Verse 6', E.I. XII, p. 10.

64. HM. pp. 23-24, Sircar, D.C., The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā Cal. 1965, pp. 6ff.

- a) The Brahma-Kshatra is one who was Brāhmaṇa first but afterwards changed his occupation or profession to attain the status of Kshatriyas, that is, exchanged priestly for martial pursuits.
- b) The Brahma-Kshatra is a line from which both the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas sprang.
- c) The Brahma-Kshatriyas were those who sprang from the parents, one of whom was a Brāhmaṇa and the other a Kshatriya.

The first of these three interpretations is found to be endorsed by the epigraphic evidence⁶⁵ regarding matrimonial alliances. But since inter-caste marriage-system was not unknown in the early period, the Brāhmaṇas desiring the Kshatriya status might have entered into matrimonial relations with the Kshatriyas.

As regards the second interpretation, it may be pointed out that in the Purāṇas, the Pauravas are certainly regarded as Kshatriyas, but the

65. 'Mount Ābu Inscription of V.S. 1342', I.A. XVI, p. 347.

descendants of the Paurava king Ajāmiḍha, the Kāṇvāyanas⁶⁶ and the Kausikas⁶⁷, were Brāhmaṇas. In the Chātsu Inscription of Bālāditya⁶⁸, Bhartripaṭṭa is called Brahma-Kshatr-ānvita. The word ānvita generally indicates the relation of both the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas.

So far as the third interpretation is concerned, the birth of the Brahma-Kshatriya as a result of inter-marriage between Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas is again supported by the epigraphic evidence⁶⁹.

Of the three interpretations mentioned above, the first one is accepted by D.R. Bhandarkar⁷⁰. Bhandarkar, while examining the Chātsu Inscription, observes that in the family of Guhila was born Bhartripaṭṭa, who was powerful and destroyer of enemies like Rāma and was having the virtues of Brahma and Kshatra. Just as Paraśurāma was a Brāhmaṇa

66. Vishṇu Purāṇa, IV, 19.

67. Ibid. IV, 7.

68. E.I. XII, p. 10.

69. 'Jodhpur Inscription of Bāuka', E.I. XVIII, pp. 87 ff.

70. JASB (1909), pp. 176 ff.

by caste but performed the martial activities of Kshatriya, so also did Bhartripatṭa, the Guhila ruler⁷¹. This is no doubt a reasonable way of explaining the claim of the Guhilas to the status of Brahma-Kshatra or Brahma-Kshatriya.

Pandit G.H. Ojha⁷², on the other hand, has examined the relevant Purāṇic accounts to opine that the Puru-vamśa was responsible for the origin of the Brahma-Kshatra line that combined the qualities of the Brāhmaṇa and the Kshatriya. Again, it is also taken into account that Viṣṇuvṛiddha and Hārīta, belonging to the solar line, attained Brahminhood, and Viśvāmitra and Arisṭasena, belonging to the lunar line, attained Brāhminhood, implying thereby the change of one Varṇa or social status for the other.

The epigraphic records refer to the Senas and the Paramāras as Brahma-Kshatra, implying probably that they were originally Brāhmaṇas but later Kshatriyas by profession. This explanation also

71. E.I. XII, pp. 10ff.

72. HK. I, p. 383.

applies to the case of Bhartripaṭṭa referred to above.

B.D. Chattopadhyay⁷³, while analysing the origin of the Rājputs on the basis of political, economic and social processes in the early mediaeval Rājasthān, suggests that the Guhilas of Chātsu, who were originally the feudatories of the Mauryas and the Pratihāras, began to claim a Brahma-Kshatra status in the middle of the 10th century A.D. According to Chattopadhyay, Brahma-Kshatra is a transitional status, the transition from the Brāhmaṇa to the Kshatriya status. The following evidences are found relevant in this connection.

- a) The Guhilas of Mewār are known from the 10th to the 11th century to have claimed descent from a Brāhmaṇa family of Ānandapura⁷⁴.
- b) A 13th century record⁷⁵ implies the claim to Brahma-Kshatra status of the Guhila family of Mewār.

73. 'Origin of the Rajputs', Indian Historical Review, Vol. III, No.1, July, 1976, Chapter 1 to V, pp. 59 to 82.

74. 'Ātṭpur Inscription (A.D.977)', I.A., XXXIX, p.191.

75. 'Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S.1342)', I.A. XVI, p.347.

- c) A record of A.D. 1540⁷⁶ claims that the family belonged to the Śilādityavaṃśa, that is, Śūrya-vaṃśa, implying their claim to the solar origin.

As suggested by B.D. Chattopadhyay, if it be accepted on the strength of their relatively later records that the Guhilas were originally of Brāhmaṇa descent, although no claims to such descent have been made in their early records, then the status was being projected in order to legitimize their new Kshatriya role. Brahma-Kshatra was relatively an open status, as can be gathered from its wide currency in India during this period, which was seized upon by the new royal families before they could formulate a pure Kshatriya origin. The verse of the Mount Ābu Inscription of V.S. 1342 (A.D. 1285)⁷⁷, where Bāppā exchanged the Brahma for the Kshatra splendour, according to Chattopadhyay, marked a period of change from feudatory to independent status. The early Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā and Dhavagartā were feudatories, and Bāppā Rāwāl, the traditional

76. Bhāv. Ins., p. 141.

77. 'Verse 11'.

founder of the Guhila line in Mewār, appears to have begun his career from a feudatory status which is indicated by the title Rāwāl.

Chattopadhyay's inferences derived from a comparative study of the epigraphic records deserve consideration. It is true that in the early records of the Guhila family there is hardly any claim to the Brāhmaṇa origin. Again, in these records, we hardly find any reference to the Kshatriya origin of the Guhilas. That Brahma-Kshatra status was open to all and that the change of caste-status from brahmin-hood to Kshatriyahood indicates a change of political status are assumptions which hardly bear scrutiny. In case of the main branch of the Guhilas, the available records, if studied in chronological order, do suggest the change of the Brāhmaṇical Pursuits in favour of the Kshatriya ones. But the change of political status might be incidental having necessarily no correspondence. That Bhartṛipatṭa of the Chātsu branch obtained the Brahma-Kshatra status after having repudiated the suzerainty of his overlord is not clearly evident from the records. It is generally found that a feudatory having Mahārāja

title assumes the title of Mahārājādhirāja after the assumption of an independent status. Such indication is not found in the cases of Bāppā or Bhartr̥ipaṭṭa.

In fact, we have three categories of records, one referring to the Brāhmin origin, the second one to the Kshatriya origin, and the third one claiming Brahma-Kshatra status for the Guhilas. The trend of the epigraphic evidence is too apparent to be missed. The chronological arrangement of the available Guhila records indicate that upto a certain period, they claimed the Brāhmaṇa status and later the Kshatriya status. It is known from the Dharma-Sūtras, the Arthasāstra and the Smṛitis that one's Brahminhood or Kshatriyahood is known by the functions discharged or the profession adopted by one. The epigraphic records indicate that at one time the Guhilas might be devoted to the Vedic study and sacrifices and other associated Brāhmaṇical rites and rituals, and later, they became involved in military pursuits and wielding political authority. This is evident from Bāppā's exchange of Brahma for Kshatra splendour⁷⁸.

78. I.A. XVI, p. 347.

The records like the Chātsu Inscription of Bālāditya⁷⁹ suggest that the Guhilas at a certain stage claimed both Brāhminhood and Kshatriyahood. Incidentally, we may refer to the origin of the Senas of Bengal who have claimed themselves to be Brahma-Kshatra in their epigraphic records. The remote ancestor of the Senas, as we learn from the Deopārā Prasasti⁸⁰, were devoted to the Brāhmanical rites and rituals. But, later, the Senas acquired proficiency not only in fighting against their political rivals but also in skilfully administering the kingdom of Bengal founded by them. Another explanation of Brahma-Kshatra may be sought for the Jodhpur Inscription of Bāuka⁸¹, where it is stated that Harichandra, the ancestor of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, was a brāhmin by caste. The sons of his brāhmin wife became Pratihāra brahmins, while the sons of his Kshatriya wife formed the Pratihāra ruling dynasty claiming Kshatriyahood. But such a clear epigraphic evidence is not yet available in

79. E.I. XII, pp. 10 ff.

80. E.I. I, pp. 307 ff.

81. E.I. XVIII, pp. 87 ff.

case of the Guhilas so that we can hardly endorse that their Brahma-Kshatra status was the result of inter-caste marriage.

Ethnic status of the Guhilas

The Guhilas, who were known as one of the distinguished thirty-six Rājput tribes, had political and social association with the aboriginal tribes like Bhils, the descendants of the Nishādas. That the Bhils fought as soldiers under the Guhila rulers is evident from an epigraphic record. It is stated that the Bhilla women fought desperately against the enemies of Allāṭa⁸². Some of the Bhils also claimed descent from the Guhilas⁸³. It is recorded by Tod⁸⁴ that Guha was elected king by the Bhils and that Bāppā was protected in his infancy by a Bhil. The Bhil chiefs still claim the privilege of performing the tikā on the inauguration of the descendants of Bāppā. As Hinduism became orthodox in Rājputānā, the Bhils sank to the position of an outcaste⁸⁵. The Bhil

82. Bhāv. Ins., pp. 74ff.

83. RG. II, (1908), Newar Residency, Pt.V. pp. 227 ff.

84. AR I, p. 184.

85. Naik, T.B., The Bhils, Delhi, 1956, pp. 18-19.

chiefs of Oḡṇā, Panarwā and Jawās regard themselves as of mixed Rājput and shil descent⁸⁶. Chacha and Merā, the sons of Mahārāṇā Mokāl, were born of a lady belonging to the carpenter caste⁸⁷. The rulers and aristocrats sometimes married women of lower caste for personal reasons as falling in love with them or winning a particular class which yields a great deal of political and military influence⁸⁸. The probability of the admixture of the Guhilas with some foreign tribes like the Hūṇas can not be ignored. The Ātpur inscription informs us that Guhila Allata married Hūṇa Hariyādevī⁸⁹ (verse 5). The available evidence, although inadequate, suggests that the Guhilas ethnically represented an admixture of predominantly indigenous and partially foreign elements. The Brāhminhood or the Kshatriyahood, as claimed in their records, indicates the process of acculturation that ultimately to their attainment of the position of the ruling class.

86. Sherring M.A., Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. III, Cal, 1881, pp. 81-82.

87. Khyāta- f. 5a.

88. Sharma, G.N., Social Life in Mediaeval Rajasthan, Agra, 1968, p. 116.

89. I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

Original Kingdom of the Guhilas

Abul Fazl states in the ĀIN -I-Ākbari⁹⁰ that the ancestor of the Guhilas came to Berar and distinguished himself as the chief of Narnalah. About eight hundred years prior to the time of Abul Fazl, Narnālāh is said to have fallen into the hands of an enemy and one Bāpa, a child, was taken to Mewār, where he found refuge with the Shil chieftain Māndalik. Jahāngir⁹¹ writes in his Memoirs (early 17th century A.D.) that the Sisodias have long borne towards the East, that is purab.....After this they came to Deccan and took possession of many countries of Mewāt and by degrees got into their possession the fort of Chitor. It is stated by Nainsi⁹² that their early kingdom was in Nāsik-Tryambak. The Rājaprasasti Mahākāvya⁹³ of the time of Rāṇā Rājasimha states that they went to the south after leaving Ayodhyā.

The traditions regarding the original kingdom of the Guhilas are to be tested in the light of

90. ĀIN-I-Ākbari II (Trans. by Jarrett), p. 268.

91. Tuzuk I (Tr. Rogers and Beveridge), p. 260.

92. Khyāt I (Trans. by R. Dugāḍa), p. 10.

93. E.I. XX, Appendix, p. 37.

epigraphic evidence. It is stated in the Ātpur Inscription⁹⁴ (A.D. 977) that Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila family, came from Ānandapura. According to D.R. Bhandarkar⁹⁵, Ānandapura is to be identified with Vādnagar in Gujrāt. This identification is accepted by most of the modern scholars. Ānandapura, the settlement of the Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas, is also known from the Vādnagar Prasasti⁹⁶ of Kumārapāla. Again, C.V.Vaidya⁹⁷ suggests that Ānandapura is to be identified with Nāgahrīda, modern Nāgdā near Udaipur. It has been pointed out by C.V.Vaidya that in the Chitor Inscription⁹⁸ (V.S. 1331) Nāgahrīda is described as

Ilākhaṇḍa Avaniḥṣaṇaḥ (Verse 8). Jiyad Ānandapuram tadina puram ilākhaṇḍa saundaryasobhi.

Both Nāgahrīda and Ānandapura are described as ornaments of Ilākhaṇḍa. The word ina indicates, that both the cities were situated in the same part

94. I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

95. JASB (1909), pp. 167 ff.

96. E.I.I., p. 295.

97. HMHI. II, p. 337.

98. Shāv.Ins., pp. 74 ff.

of the country⁹⁹ Iha also denotes that Ānandapura was located within Mewār (asti Nāgahrada nāma sayam iha pattanam). Āhār, ancient Āghāṭa, was known as Ānandapura¹⁰⁰. Erskine¹⁰¹ also holds the same view. If we study the epigraphic records including Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1331)¹⁰², we find in most of the records¹⁰³ Bāppā's association with Nāgahrada and the seat of the political authority of the Guhilas at both Āghāṭapura (Ānandapura) and Nāgahrada. Guhadatta's migration from Ānandapura, as recorded in the Ātpur Inscription, and Bāppā's coming from Ānandapura, as indicated in the Chitor Inscription, seem to suggest that they moved from Āghāṭa to Nāgahrada, as they are known to have **shifted** their seat of authority a number of times. Besides, most of the epigraphic records of the Guhilas of Nāgdā-Āhār are found within the boundaries of Mewār, that is in the districts of modern Udaipur, Bhilwārā

99. Raychaudhuri, G.C., History of Mewar, Cal, p.25.

100. AR. II, p. 912.

101. Erskine, K.D., RG II, A (Mewar Residency), p.110.

102. Bhāv.Ins., pp. 74ff.

103. I.A. XVI, p. 347.

and Chitor and one¹⁰⁴ in Mewār-Sirohi border. Not a single record of this branch was found in Gujrāt. Actually, Nāgahrada and Āghāṭapura formed the nerve centre of Mewār from the beginning of their history. In remote early times their ancestors might have hailed from Ānandapura in Gujrāt. Later the Guhilas built Ānandapura at Āghāṭapura or Nāgahrada in Mewār to commemorate their ancestral home in Gujrāt.

104. Sāmoli Inscription of Śīlāditya (A.D. 646),
E.I. XX, p. 97.

Chapter - III

Genealogy and Chronology of the early Guhilas

In determining the genealogy of the early Guhila rulers the Ātpur Inscription¹ (A.D. 977) is the only dependable early record. In the Sāmoli Inscription² (A.D. 646) and the Nāgda Inscription³ (A.D. 661), ^{we} find mention of a single ruler. The Āhār Inscription of Bhartripatta II⁴ (A.D. 943), the Āhār Sārneśvara Temple Inscription of Allāṭa⁵ (A.D. 953) and the Ekalinga Inscription of Maravāhana⁶ (A.D. 971) furnish neither the succession list nor the genealogical list. Besides the Ātpur Inscription, the records of the later period like the Chitor Inscription⁷ (V.S. 1331),

1. I.A., XXXIX, p. 191.

2. E.I., XX, p. 97.

3. E.I., IV, pp. 31-32.

4. RMR., 1914, p. 2.

5. I.A., LVIII, p. 161; Bhāv. Ins. p. 67.

6. Bhāv. Ins., p. 69.

7. Bhāv. Ins., pp. 74ff.

the Mount Ābu Inscription⁸ (V.S. 1342), the Rānpur Inscription (V.S. 1496)⁹ also called Sādādi Inscription and the Kumbhalgarh Inscription¹⁰ (V.S. 1517) furnish the list of the Guhila rulers of Newār. The genealogy may be reconstructed by tracing the relationship between the predecessor and the successor, although the relation between the predecessor and the successor is not specified in all cases. The succession lists contained in the epigraphic records, however, are quite useful for reconstructing the genealogical table of the Guhilas.

Ātpur Inscription

The Inscription¹¹ refers to Guṇadatta as one belonging to the Brāhmaṇa family who emigrated from Ānandapura. He was the founder of the Guhila dynasty.

2) Bhoja, 3) Manendra, 4) Nāga, 5) Śīla 6) Aparājita, 7) Mahendra II, 8) Kāla bhojā, 9) Khummāṇa, 10) Mattatā and 11) Bhartṛipaṭṭa I belonged to the

8. I.A., XVI, p. 347.

9. Bhāv. Ins., p. 113.

10. E.I., XXIV, p. 304.

11. I.A., XXXIX, p. 191.

lineage of Guhadatta. After Shartripaṭṭa,

12) Siṃha became king. Siṃha was succeeded by his

son 13) Khummāṇa II who was followed by his son

14) Mahāyaka. Next came Mahāyaka's son 15) Khu-

mmāṇa III from whom sprang 16) Bhartripaṭṭa II.

Bhartripaṭṭa II's son 17) Allaṭa, Allaṭa's son

18) Naravāhana, Naravāhana's son 19) Śālivāhana and

Śālivāhana's son 20) Śaktikumāra, succeeded to the

throne of Mewār one after another.

Later Records

The Chitor Inscription¹² (v.s. 1331) records that the first personage of the dynasty was 1) Bāppā. His son was 2) Guhila after whom the family was named. Next came 3) Bhojarāja, whose relation with Guhila is not specified. Bhojarāja's son was 4) Śīla, Śīla's son 5) Kālabhoja, 6) Kālabhoja's son Aghasiṃha identified with Siṃha and Aghasiṃha's son 9) Mahāyaka. Next came 10) Khummāṇa whose relation with his predecessor is not specifically mentioned. Next came 11) Allaṭa and his son 12) Naravāhana who was followed by 13) Śaktikumāra.

12. Bhāv. Ins., pp. 74ff.

The Mount Abu Inscription¹³ (v.s. 1342) informs us that 1) Bāppā or Bappaka was the first personage of the dynasty. Next came his son 2) Guhila. From him was born 3) Bhoja, 4) Śīla came next. The relation between Bhoja and Śīla is not mentioned. Śīla's son was 5) Kālabhoja who was followed by 6) Bhartripaṭṭa or Bhartribhaṭa. The relation between Kālabhoja and Bhartripaṭṭa is not given. Next came 7) Siṃha whose relation with Bhartribhaṭa is not known. Siṃha's son was 8) Mahāyaka, 9) Shummāṇa (identified with Khummāṇa) succeeded Mahāyaka, but the relation between the two can hardly be traced. From Khummāṇa was born 10) Allaṭa followed by 11) Naravāhana. Allaṭa - Naravāhana relation is not found in the epigraph. Next came 12) Śakti Kumāra, whose relation with Naravāhana is not known.

The Sādādi or Rānpur Inscription¹⁴ (v.s. 1496) furnishes us with the name of 1) Bāppā first appearing in the epigraph. Next follows the succession list without any mention of the relationship between the predecessor and the successor, especially in the case of the early Guhilas. The relation between the

13. I.A., XVI, p. 347.

14. Bhāv. Ins., p. 113.

predecessor and the successor is found in cases of some later Guhila rulers. Bāppā is found to have been followed by 2) Śrī Guhila, 3) Bhoja, 4) Śīla, 5) Kālaanoja, 6) Śharṭṛibhaṭa, 7) Siṁha, 8) Mahāyaka, 9) Śrī Khummāṇa, 10) Allāṭa, 11) Naravāhana and 12) Śaktikumāra.

The Kumbhalgarh Inscription¹⁵ (V.S. 1517)

furnishes the list of the early Guhilas. The 3rd slab of the inscription¹⁶ opens with the description of mahārāwāl Śrī Bāpa. Next we have an account regarding Rāwāl Śrī Guhadatta¹⁷. He is described as the son of Bāpa. It was after Guhadatta, it is said that the dynasty was named. He had a son Lātivinoda by name, who was called as such due to passing his days in enjoyment with ladies of the Lāṭa country. Next we have an account in respect of Rāwāl Śrī Khummāṇa. From the above, the succession list is in the order of 1) Bāpa, 2) Guhadatta and 3) Khummāṇa, Lātivinoda's name is not found in any other epigraphic record. We may, therefore, exclude his name from the genealogy.

15. E.I., XXIV, pp. 304ff.

16. Verses 121 to 126.

17. Verses 127 to 133.

The original portion of the inscription, called Rāja-Varṇana, is said to have been prepared in the light of many old prasaśtis dealing with the genealogy of the early rulers of the family¹⁸. From this portion it is learnt that in the family of Gunila was born a prince 1) Bhoja by name. From him were born 2) Mahendra, 3) Nāga 4) Bāppā and 5) Aparā-jita. Then came 6) Mahendra II and from him was born 7) Kālabhoja. After him came in succession 8) Sh (Kh) ummāṇa, 9) Mattaṭa, 10) Shatṛipatṭa and 11) Allatā. Then came 12) Naravāhana and 13) Śālīvā-hana, after whom was born 14) Śaktikumāra¹⁹.

Summing up of the epigraphic data

The lists of Guhila rulers found in different epigraphic records may be arranged thus :

Ātpur Ins. V. S. 1034	Chitor Ins. V. S. 1331	Mount Abu Ins. V. S. 1342	Rāṇpur V. S. ¹⁹³ 1496	Kumbhal- garh Ins. V. S. 1517.
1. Guhadatta	Bāppā Guhila	Bāppā Guhila	Bāppā Guhila	Guhila

18. Verse 138.

19. Verses 139-142.

Ātपुर Ins. V.S. 1034	Chitor Ins. V.S. 1331	Mount Ābu Ins. V.S. 1342	Kānpur Ins. V.S. 1496	Kumbhal- garh Ins. V.S. 1517
2. Bhoja	Bhoja	Bhoja	Bhoja	Bhoja
3. Mahendra	.....	.....	.....	Mahendra
4. Nāga	.....	.....	.....	Nāga
5. Śīla	Śīla	Śīla	Śīla	Bāppā
6. Aparājita	.....	.....	.....	Aparājita
7. MahendraII	.....	.....	.....	MahendraII
8. Kālabhoja	Kālabhoja	Kālabhoja	Kāla- bhoja	Kāla- bhoja
9. Khummāṇa I	.....	.....	.....	Khummāṇa
10. Mattaṭa	Mattaṭa	.....	.....	Mattaṭa
11. Bhartrī- Paṭṭa I	Bhartrī- bhata	Bhartrī- bhata	Bhartrī- bhata	Bhartrī- paṭṭa
12. Śimha	Aghasimha	Śimha	Śimha	.....
13. Khummāṇa II	.....	.....	.....	.....
14. Mahāyaka	Mahāyaka	Mahāyaka	Mahāyaka	.....
15. Khummāṇa III	Khummāṇa	Shummāṇa (i.e. Khū- mmāṇa)	Khummāṇa	.....
16. Bhartrī- paṭṭa II	.....	.....	.....	.....
17. Allata	Allata	Allata	Allata	Allata
18. Naravā- hana	Naravāhana	Naravā- hana	Naravā- hana	Nara- vāhana
19. Śālivāna- na	.....	.....	.....	Śāli- vāna
20. Śaktiku- māra	Śaktikumāra	Śaktikumāra	Śakti- kumāra	Śaktiku- māra

Except the list of rulers of the Guhila dynasty mentioned in the Ātpur Inscription, no lists appearing in later epigraphic records are complete. The Chitor Inscription, the Mount Ābu Inscription, the Rānpur Inscription and the Kumbhalgarh Inscription omit the names of some early Guhila rulers. In the Chitor Inscription the names of Mahendra, Nāga, Aparājita, Mahendra II, Khummāna I, Khummāna II, Bhartripatta II and Śālivāhana, that is, No. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 13, 16 and 19 princes of the Ātpur Inscription are conspicuous by their absence. The account of the Mount Ābu Inscription closely resembles that of the Chitor Inscription, as the two records were composed by the same prasastikāra named Vedaśarmā. Only the name of Mattata (No. 10) found in the Chitor Inscription is absent in the Mount Ābu Inscription. The Prasastikāra of the Rānpur Inscription or Sādādi Inscription (V.S. 1496) also follow the genealogical list given in the Mount Ābu Inscription. In both the records No. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 16, 19 kings, mentioned above, are not mentioned.

19A

The Kumbhalgarh inscription begins with the name of Bāppā which is followed by that of Guhadatta,

after whom the family (Guhila) is named, and next comes Khummāṇa. But the list in the Rājavarṇana section is more elaborate²⁰ although the names of Śīla, Śimha, Khummāṇa II, Mahāyaka, Khummāṇa III, Bhartṛipatṭa II are not found in it. Whereas in the Ātpur Inscription, the name of Śīla (No. 5) occurs between Nāga (No. 4) and Aparājita (No. 6), the Kumbhalgarh Inscription mentions Bāppā between Nāga and Aparājita. In the Chitor Inscription, the Mount Abu Inscription and the Rānpur Inscription, Bāppā is represented as the first member of the family. In the Kumbhalgarh Inscription No. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 kings are not found. Otherwise the Ātpur and the Kumbhalgarh lists show the same order of rulers. However, the list of early Guhila rulers, as found in the Ātpur Inscription, appears to be the most acceptable one, as the record in question is the earliest in date among those furnishing such lists and contains the names of twenty rulers without any gap in the order from Guhadatta to Śaktikumāra.

Some Problems of Chronology

G.C. Roychoudhury²¹ has derived from the Ātpur

20. Verse 138, E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

21. HM. pp. 28-29.

Inscription that in the lineage of Guhila, Bhoja was followed by Mahendranāga, Śīla and Aparājita. But it appears that Mahendra and Nāga were different rulers. This is supported by the Kumbhalgarh Inscription.

The early Guhila genealogy and chronology have been re-examined by D.C. Sircar²². The Ātpur Inscription of Śaktikumāra (A.D. 977)²³ is interpreted to infer that Bhoja, Mahendra I, Nāga and Śīla (i.e. Śīlāditya of the Śāmoli Inscription, A.D. 646)²⁴ were born in the lineage of Guhadatta (Guhila). Śīlāditya, the fifth prince of the line (according to the Ātpur Inscription) ruled in A.D. 646. Assigning an average period of twenty years for each reign, Bhoja, the third in ascent from Śīla appears to have ruled about the close of the 6th century A.D. The epigraphic evidence that Bhoja along with his three successors was born in the lineage of Guhadatta, does not necessarily suggest, according to D.C. Sircar, Bhoja's immediate succession to the

22. Sircar, D.C. Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā, Cal, 1965, pp. 20-31.

23. I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

24. E.I. XX, p. 97.

throne after Guhila - Guhadatta. That there occurred an interval between Guhila (Guhadatta) and Bhoja is evident, according to Sircar, from the bardic tradition, where Nāgāditya or Nāga is shown to be the 8th in descent from Guhila indicating that Bhoja was the latter's 6th descendant. In other words, there were four rulers between Guhila and Bhoja. Śīla of the Ātpur Inscription becomes the 9th king of the dynasty. Guhila's accession may, therefore, be assigned roughly to a date about the latter-half of the 5th century A.D. The Guhilas flourished much earlier than the end of the Maitraka rule (as the date of the last Maitraka king of Valabhī was A.D. 766) in Valabhī and therefore, Guhila can not be considered as the descendant of the last Maitraka king Śīlāditya.

We can not, however, overlook the genealogical lists furnished by the Chitor inscription, (V.S. 1331) the Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342), the śādādi or Rānpur Inscription (V.S. 1496) indicating that Bhoja was the immediate successor of Guhila. In the Mount Ābu Inscription²⁵, (V.S. 1342), again, it is clearly

25. Verse 13, I.A. XVI, pp. 347 ff.

stated that from him (Guhila) was born Bhoja, obviously suggesting that Bhoja was the son of Guhila (or Guhadatta). Guhadatta and Guhila represent one and the same person, as neither the bardic tradition nor the epigraphic records furnish us with different kings bearing those two names.

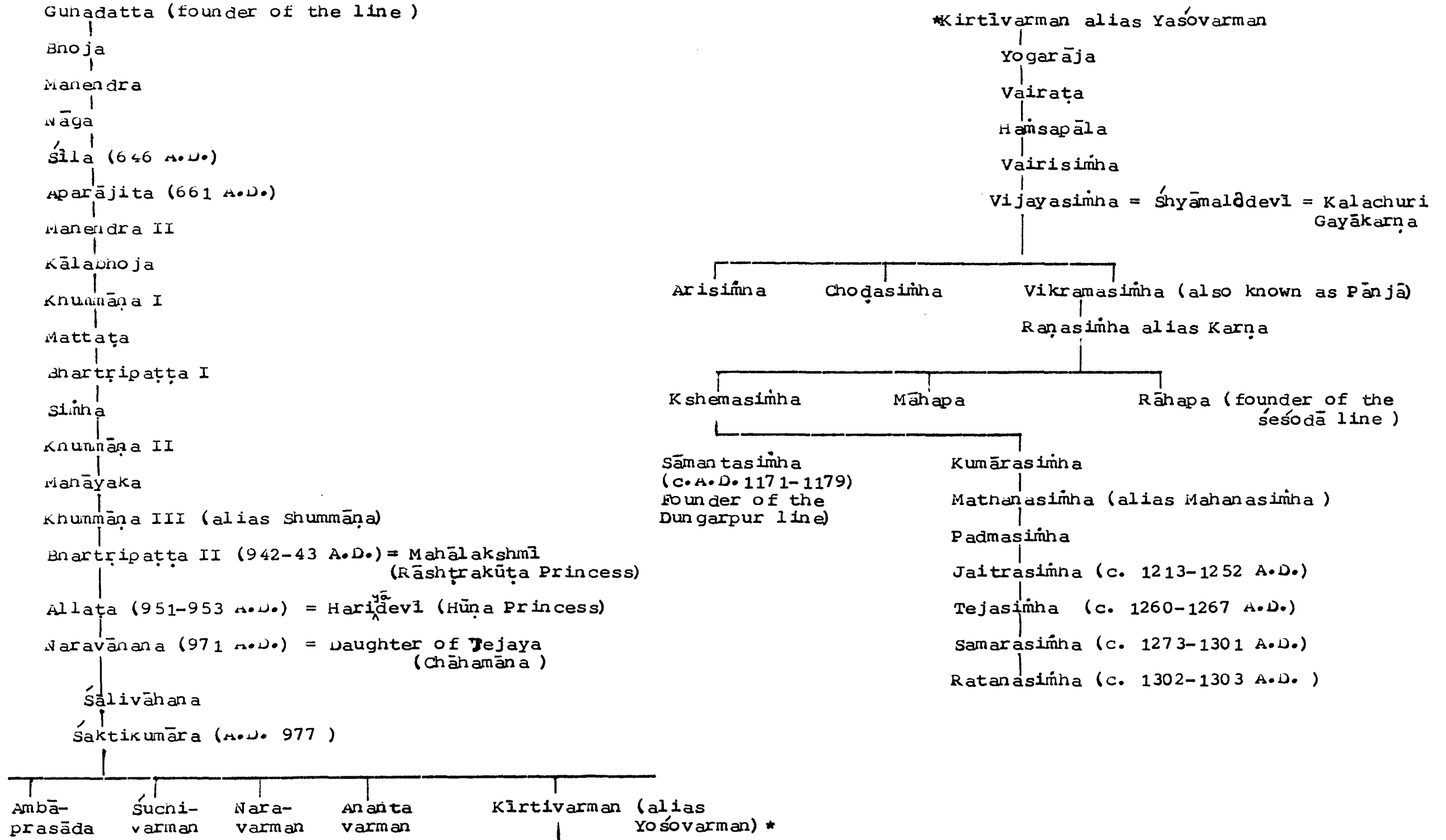
Secondly, D.C. Sircar, following the bardic tradition, has suggested that in between Guhila and Bhoja ruled four kings. But the lists occurring in both the early and later epigraphic records hardly refer to them. Attaching more credence to the epigraphic records than bardic tradition, it would be more reasonable to assume that Bhoja was preceeded by Guhila only and no other king.

Assuming that Bhoja was 6th in descent from Guhila, Sircar determines the date of the latter on that basis. According to him, Guhila flourished sometime in the latter-half of the 5th century A.D.^{25A} But there is little scope of doubt from the Ātpur Inscription (A.D. 977) that Śīla was fifth in descent from Guhadatta-Guhila. The same information is forthcoming from the Kadmal Plates²⁶ (V.S. 1140). As

25A. See also Sharma, G.N. Glories of Mewar, Agra, p.41

26. E.I. XXXI, P. 237.

Table I : Genealogical Table of the Guhilas of Medapāṭa



we come to know the date of Śīla from the sāmoli inscription²⁷, (A.D. 646) it is reasonable to suggest, assigning an average reign period of 20 years for each reign, that Guhila most probably flourished in the latter half of the 6th century A.D. Guhila might have carved out a kingdom of his own, when the imperial authority of the Guptas could hardly have been recognised in the western part of Northern India. Of course, it remains true that Guhila can not be considered as the descendant of the last Maitraka king of Valabhī, as the former flourished much earlier than the latter.

Position of Bāppā in the Guhila genealogy and Chronology

Scholars generally hold that Bāppā was not actually an original name. Tod²⁸ is of opinion that the name signifies merely a child. Crooke²⁹ suggests that the name contains an old Prākṛit from of bāp (father). It has been suggested by D.R. Bhandarkar³⁰,

27. E.I. XX, p. 97.

28. AR I, p. 261 fn. I.

29. Ibid. Vide I.A. XV, pp. 275ff.

30. JASB, 1909, pp. 189ff.

that Bāppā is equivalent to Bāpa or Bāvā, a respectful term for ascetics. This suggestion was originally made by Bhagvanlal Indraji³¹. It has been pointed out by H.C. Ray³² that this designation attached itself to the real founder of the Guhila-putras, because he was a disciple of the Śaiva ascetic Hāritarīṣi and the Diwān of the god Ekaliṅga. D.C. Sircar³³ opines that the word bappa, literally 'the father', is equivalent to bābā in the modern North Indian languages, though it is often used to mean 'the child'. C.V. Vaidya³⁴ believes that it was his own proper name. It may be reasonably assumed that it was a calling name or nickname, probably given by his parents or other members of the family. This name was not assumed after accession. That probably explains the absence of the name of Bāppā in the list furnished by the Ātpur Inscription³⁵.

The Ekaliṅga Inscription of Naravāhana³⁶

(A.D. 971) for the first time mentions the name of

31. EG. I, Pt. I. p. 84.

32. DMNL., II, p. 1157.

33. Sircar, D.C., op.cit. p. 24.

34. HMHI., II p. 76.

35. I.A., XXXIX, p. 191.

36. Bhāv.Ins. p. 67.

Bāppā without furnishing his genealogical position. The Ātour Inscription (A.D. 977)³⁷, which for the first time furnishes a genealogical list of the Guhilas, does not mention the name of Bāppā at all. An attempt may, therefore, be made to solve the problem on Chronological grounds.

Scholars generally hold that Bāppā flourished in the first-half of the 8th century A.D. According to Tod³⁸, he occupied Chitor in A.D. 728 at the age of 15 and abdicated the throne in A.D. 764. Pandit G.H. Ojha³⁹ gives 734 and 753 A.D. as the dates of these two events. C.V. Vaidya⁴⁰ disagreed with the view of Ojha. It has been suggested by him that Ojha's date did not accord with the tradition that Bāppā ruled for a long time and abdicated at an old age. He placed Bāppā's accession between 713 and 763 A.D. and further suggests that the Arab raid of Mewār must have taken place before Navasāri Grant of Avanijañāsraya Pulakesī (739 A.D.). Since Bāppā fought on the side of Mori Prince, his

37. I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

38. AR. I, p. 248.

39. MR. I, pp. 102-107.

40. HMHI. II, pp. 338-342.

accession took place probably in 730 A.D. and, because Bāppā was comparatively young, his birth may be placed in C. 700 A.D. H.C. Ray⁴¹ suggests that Bāppā should be assigned to the period between 739 and 753 A.D. The former date is the approximate date of the destruction of the Maurya principality by the Arabs and the latter date is the traditional date of Bāppā's abdication.

The date of Bāppā is mainly known from two literary sources viz. the Ekalingamahātmya and the Ekalingapurāṇa. The first work was composed during the reign-period of Rāṇā Kumbhā (1433-1468 A.D.) in the 15th century A.D., while the second work some-time later, during the reign period of Rāṇā Rāimal, the son of Rāṇā Kumbhā. The first work assigns the date of Bāppā at 753 A.D. But in the second work the same date is referred as the date of Bāppā's abdication in favour of his son⁴². The statement, Yad uktan purāṇanāḥ Kavibhiḥ, in the first work suggests that the date was taken from some older records. Ābul Fazl says⁴³ that the ancestor of the

41. DHNI. II, p. 1159.

42. Chapter 20, Verses 21-22; also Cf. DHNI II pp. 1158-1159.

43. ĀIN-I-Ākbari. Trans. Vol. II. p. 268.

Rānās of Chitor flourished at a date 800 years before his time (16th century A.D.). So the Ekalingamāhātmya, the Ekalingapurāna and the Āin-I- Ākbari, hint that Bāppā flourished in the 8th century A.D. On this basis, scholars have attempted to determine the dates of Bāppā's accession to the throne and his abdication. The date of Bāppā is also known from the Newār Tradition St. 820, that is, A.D. 763, and from the Bikaner records which also give that date of Bāppā's retirement Śaka Pancha-shtasnat (i.e. 685), that is, A.D. 763 or St. 820⁴⁴.

Bāppā's identification with Śīla

To⁴⁵ has identified Bāppā with Śīla. It is also stated by him that Bāppā, often termed Śaila (Śīla) and Śailadāsa in inscriptions, came immediately after Nāga. But he himself assigns Bāppā's reign-period between 728-764 A.D., as stated earlier, whereas Śīla is known from the Sāmoli Inscription to

44. Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical Manuscripts, part - II, p. 63, Quoted by Vaidya C.V., MMHI, II, p. 341.

45. AR. I, p. 248 and p. 261.

have ruled about A.D. 646⁴⁶. Among other scholars who have identified Bāppā with Śīla mention may be made of G.C. Ray Chaudhuri⁴⁷, D. Sharma⁴⁸, D.C. Sircar⁴⁹ and G.N. Sharma⁵⁰.

The arguments in favour of the identification of Bāppā with Śīla are the following :

- a) While in the Ātpur Inscription (A.D. 977) Nāga was succeeded by Śīla, in the Kumbhalgarh Inscription (1460 A.D.) Nāga was succeeded by Bāppā. Therefore, Śīla and Bāppā represent the same ruler.
- b) The bardic tradition that the temporary loss of fortune by Bāppā at the death of his father Nāgāditya in the hands of the Bhils is echoed in the Chitorgarh Inscription (V.S. 1331) where Bāppā is said to have revived his fortune by the grace of Mārit Rishi. It indicates that Bāppā had lost

46. E.I. XX, p. 97.

47. History of Mewar, Cal, p. 31.

48. Rajasthan Through the Ages Vol. I, Bikaner, 1966, pp. 236-237.

49. The Guhilas of Kishkindhā, Cal, 1965, pp. 26-28.

50. Glories of Mewar, Agra, p. 41.

Rājasthān-Kā-Itihās, Vol.I, Agra, 1973, pp.48-49.

his ancestral possession and obtained navarāṣya-lakṣmī, that is, 'new royal fortune'⁵¹. It indicate the overthrow of the Guhila power by the Bhils and its restoration by Śīla.

- c) In the same inscription Śīla is described as having attained the goddess of victory⁵² who became disgraced by coming into contact with the Mātaṅgas. The Mātaṅgas are taken by scholars as Kirātas, mountaineers, barbarians, or the Bhils. Thus the evidence of bardic tradition is corroborated by the epigraphic evidence.
- d) That the power of the Bhils was reduced and the influence of the Mahājanas increased after the death of Nāgāditya may be derived from the Sānoli inscription of Śīla (A.D. 646). Where it is stated that a community of Mahājanas, headed by Jentaka, had migrated from Vaṭanagara or Vasantgarh and started an āgara (ākara, a mine) in Aranyakūpagiri⁵³. So the suggestion has been

51. Verse II, Bhāv. Ins. pp. 74ff.

52. Verse 20.

53. Verses 5 to 7, E.I., XX, p. 97. Vasantgarh stands 16 miles from Sānoli.

put forward with justification that mahājanas acquired much importance, after the Bhils, in the Guhila kingdom.

- c) "If achievements alone be any consideration in deciding the issue of Bāppā's identity, Śīladitya has as good a right as any other ruler of Mewār to this title. That he gave good rule to the people can be seen from the Sāmoli Inscription (A.D. 646), that he had political victories also to his credit can be seen from the Chitorgarh Inscription of 1274 A.D."⁵⁴.

Bāppā's identification with Mahendra

Kavirāja Śhyāmal Das⁵⁵ has identified Bāppā with Mahendra, the successor of Aparājita and the predecessor of Kālabhoja. Kavirāja has accepted the date obtained from the Ekalingapurāṇa, that is, V.S. 810 or 753 as the date of Bāppā's abdication or the last date of Mahendra. Counting forward from A.D. 661, the date of Aparājita's Nāgda Inscription⁵⁶,

54. Sharma, D., op.cit. p. 237.

55. Vir Vinod, I. p. 250.

56. E.I., IV, pp. 31-32.

Kavirāj calculates 92 years reign-period for two rulers, Aparājita and Mahendra (II).

Bāppā's identification with Kālabhoja

Among the scholars who were in favour of the identification of Bāppā with Kālabhoja mention may be made of G.H. Ojha⁵⁷, H.C. Ray⁵⁸, M.L. Mathur⁵⁹ and R.V. Somani⁶⁰. K.D. Erskine⁶¹ is not certain and therefore states that "either Mahendra II or Kālabhoja, one of the two was better known as Bāppā".

The arguments in favour of this identification are the following :

- a) In the Rājaprasasti Mahākāvya and the Khyāta of Nainsi, Khummāna is mentioned as the son of Bāppā.

57. HR. I, pp. 409ff.

58. DHNI., II, p. 1159.

59. 'Early Rulers of Mewar and their fights with the Arabs', I.H.Q., XXIX, pp. 315-331.

60. History of Mewar, Jaipur, 1976, p. 40.

61. RG., II, A. p. 8.

Again, in the Ātpur Inscription⁶² (A.D. 977), Kālabhōja is mentioned as the father of Khummāna. Bappa is therefore, according to Ojha, the biruda of Kālabhōja (Kālabhōja - Bāppā).

- b) The date of Aparājita is A.D. 661 (Nāgādā Inscription)⁶³ and the traditional date of Bāppā's abdication is A.D. 753. The intervening period of 92 years, therefore, covered the reign-period of three generations viz. Aparājita, Mahendra II, Kālabhōja.

H.C. Ray argues that the period of 92 years is not so high, as the Mewār tradition ascribed to Bāppā a long reign.

- c) In the unpublished Mahārāwāl Pata's Inscription (V.S. 1461), Khummāna is described as the son of Bāppā Rāwāl. Again, in the genealogy contained in the Ātpur Inscription (V.S. 1034) Khummāna is mentioned as the son of Kālabhōja. On the ground, R.V. Somani thinks Kālabhōja was none but Bāppā himself.

- d) In the Mount Ābu Inscription⁶⁴ (V.S. 1342) it is stated that Kālabhōja wedded the chaul women and was

62. I.A., XXXIX, p. 190.

63. E.I., IV, pp. 31-32.

64. Verse 15, I.A., XVI, p. 347.

the chief among the line of the princes of his dynasty. Again, in the bardic tradition it is stated that Bāppā defeated the ruler of chaul and married his daughter. On this ground M.L. Mathur has suggested the identification of Kālabhoja with Bāppā.

- e) Tod, writing on Kālabhoja, records that "he was called Karna, excavated Boraila lake and erected the grand temple of Ekalinga on the site of the hermitage of Harita.....". According to the tradition, Bāppā, a disciple of Hārīta, built a famous temple and dedicated it to Ekalinga Śiva. Tod's statement, according to Mathur, is in harmony with the tradition till current in Mewār that the builder of the Ekalinga temple was Kālabhoja, who, for his bravery and proficiency as an archer, was also called Karna.

Bāppā's identification with Khummāna I

D.R. Bhandarkar⁶⁵ A.C. Banerjee⁶⁶, S. Dutt⁶⁷,

65. JASB, 1909, pp. 189-190.

66. Mediaeval studies Cal. 1958, pp. 14-18.

67. I.H.Q., 1928, p. 797.

Adris Banerjee⁶⁸ and R.C. Mazumdar⁶⁹ have identified Bāppā with Khummāṇa I.

The arguments put forward in favour of the view are the following :

- a) The date of Aparājita A.D. 661, while that of Allāṭa was A.D. 953. Twelve generations ruled during the intervening period of 292 years. On an average, $24\frac{1}{3}$ years may be allotted for each generation. The date of Bāppā's abdication was A.D. 753, while the date of Aparājita was A.D. 661. The difference between these two dates is 92 years. Allowing the same average of $24\frac{1}{3}$ years for each generation, Bāppā may be identified with Khummāṇa I, the fourth in descent from Aparājita.
- b) The Guhilots of Newār are described as belonging to Bāppā Vamśa in the inscriptions of the 15th century and later date, while in the inscriptions

68. Archaeological History of South - Eastern Rajasthan, Varanasi, 1970, p. 171.

69. Mazumdar, R.C. ed. Classical Age, Bombay, 1970, Chapter X. p. 158.

of the earlier period they are referred to as Khummāṇa Vamśīya. That Khummāṇa loomed large in the Guhilot tradition is also proved by the fact that of the first 20 Gunilots, as many as 3 bore that name and "the most ancient poetic Chronicle of Mewār probably written in the 9th century and recast during the reign of Pratāpasimha is designated Khummāṇa Rāso". Again, the traditional utterance, 'Khummāṇ aid you', is often used in Mewār, when one makes a false step. The Khummāṇa Rāso, which deals with the military exploits of the Guhilots, strongly suggests that Bāppā and Khummāṇa I refer to the same ruler⁷⁰.

Bāppā's identification with Simha

Bāppā is identified with Simha on the basis of an inscription⁷¹ associating Gunilaputra Simha with Hārita Rishi, who is referred to in a number of inscriptions⁷² as intimately associated with Bāppā.

70. I.H.Q. 1928, p. 797.

71. JASS, Vol. V, 1909, p. 167.

72. Bhāv. Ins. p. 75; I.A. XVI, p. 347.

The relevant lines of the epigraph on the basis of which the above identification has been proposed are the following :

Śrī-Śkalīṅga-Var-ārādhanā-Pāśupati-ācārya
Mārīta Kāśī - Kṣatriya - Guhilaputra (Simha)
Labdha Mahodaya⁷³.

An Assessment of the views

An inscription⁷⁴ wrongly associates Simha with Mārīta Kāśī. But, on that ground, Bhandarkar proposed the identification of Bāppā with Simha, which is not tenable on chronological grounds.

C.V. Vaidya⁷⁵ has identified Bāppā with Guṇāditya or Guṇadatta. He has not taken into consideration an important inscription⁷⁶ of the Guhilas

73. JASB LV Pt. I, p. 48. vide JASB, Vol. V, 1909, pp. 167 ff.

74. JASB, LV, Pt. I, p. 48. Bhandarkar first identified Bāppā with Khummāna I, later with Simha.

75. HMHL., II, p. 81.

76. 'Ātṣpur Inscription (A.D. 977)', I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

which, for the first time, gives the fuller genealogy of the early Guhilas. Again, he has ignored the evidence of the inscriptions dated A.D. 646 and A.D. 661 attributed to Śīla and Aparājita respectively and took them as descendants of Bāppā, is known to have flourished, according to Vaidya himself, in the 8th century A.D. Vaidya appears to have been more guided by the evidence of the later than the earlier records.

Bhandarkar's original view in support of the identification of Bāppā with Khumaṇa I was based on the calculation of average reign-period of twelve generations falling between A.D. 661 (Aparājita) and A.D. 953 (Allaṭa). He again takes the date A.D. 753 given in the Ekalingapurāṇa as that of Bāppā's abdication and places Khumaṇa-Bāppā in the fourth generation from Aparājita. The evidence of the Āṇar Inscription of Bhartṛipatṭa II (A.D. 943) has not, however, been taken into consideration. The date of Bāppā is simply referred to in the Ekalinga-māhātmya as A.D. 753, while in the Ekalingapurāṇa, which was composed at a later-period, the same date is given as that of Bāppā's abdication. The discrepancy in the literary tradition makes its unreliability

apparent. The Rājaprasasti-Mahākāvya (1675 A.D.), a medieval text, gives the date of Bāppā, in words, as 'Māgha - Sudi 7 in the year 191' (A.D. 134)⁷⁷.

In the inscriptions of the 15th century A.D., the Guhilas are described as belonging Bāppā Vamśa, and in the earlier records the Guhilas are described as Khumṁāṇa Vamśiya, as pointed out by S. Dutta. It does not necessarily suggest that Bāppā and Khumṁāṇa represented the same ruler. The association of the Guhilas with Khumṁāṇa or Bāppā depended, to a large extent upon the glorification of the former to the latter in the tradition of Mewār at a certain period of time. That Khumṁāṇa might be one of the most important personages of the family is indicated by the epigraphic evidence that he successfully fought against his adversaries. Similar exploits are also attributed to Śīla, Kālabhoja, Śīha and others. The date of the Khumṁāṇa Rāso remains still uncertain. Again, the untrustworthy character of the text is pointed out by G.H. Ojha⁷⁸ and its historical value has been questioned by C.V. Vaidya⁷⁹.

77. E.I., XXIX - XXX. Appendix, pp. 14, 93.

78. AR. I, pp. 420 ff.

79. HMHI, II, p. 80.

The identification of Bāppā with Kālabhoja has been proposed on the basis of the Rājaprasasti Mahākāvya and Khyāta of Naiṣi. Those are texts of a much later period and their historical value is not beyond question. Assuming Bāppā to be Kālabhoja, H.C. Ray has calculated the reign-period of 92 years for three generations of rulers falling between A.D. 661, the date of Aparājita, and A.D. 753, the date of Bāppā's abdication. But this theory of allowing an average reign-period is not tenable in all cases.

For instance, the last three kings in the list of the Ātūr Inscription are Naravāhana, Śālivāhana and Śaktikumāra. Naravāhana's inscription is dated A.D. 971, while Śaktikumāra's Ātūr Inscription is dated A.D. 977. We have, therefore, only a period of six years for three generations of rulers. Assuming the absence of Naravāhana's record, we might calculate from A.D. 953, the date of Allata, to A.D. 977, the date Śaktikumāra. In that case, the period of 24 years would cover four generations of rulers, allowing an average of six years for each. Besides, we have no idea of the exact reign-period of Bāppā from any available source.

As pointed out by Somani on the basis of the Ātūr Inscription and Manārāwāl Pata's Inscription (V.S. 1461), Kālabhoja-Bāppā was the father of Khumnāṇa. The evidence of the latter record can hardly be assessed, as it has not yet reached in published form. It appears, however, that the earlier tradition was somehow distorted in a later record.

Mathur's contention that the wedding of the Cnaul woman by both Kālabhoja and Bāppā suggests their identification, is not based on reasonable grounds. That Kālabhoja was the builder of the Ekalinga Temple is not evident from any available record except a doubtful tradition referred to by Tod in a footnote.

Kavirāj Śhyāmal Das's suggestion identifying Bāppā with Mahendra II is again based upon an average calculation of the reign-period of 92 years from A.D. 661, the date of Aparājita, to A.D. 753, the date of Bāppā's abdication, for three generations of rulers. The average is too high to be accepted. In addition, one can hardly vouchsafe A.D. 753 as the date of Bāppā's abdication on the basis of the Ekalinga Purāṇa.

Scholars who have identified Śīla with Bāppā have given arguments which are quite tenable. If we proceed on the basis of the epigraphic records **beginning** from the Sāmoli Inscription, we find in most of them the description of the military exploits of Śīla at length. At a later period, the people forgot the original name of Śīla due to the widest popularity of his nickname Bāppā throughout Mewār. That explains why in the later records we find often the occurrence of the name of Bāppā, as the fame of his military exploits and benevolent rule crossed the limits of Mewār and spread in the whole of Rājputānā.

There is a striking similarity in the geneology given in the Ātpur Inscription and the Kumbhalgarh Inscription. According to the Ātpur Inscription, Śīla was succeeded by Aparājita and preceeded by Nāga, while the Kumbhalgarh Inscription informs us that Bāppā was succeeded by Aparājita and preceeded by Nāga. This evidence is strong enough to establish the identification of Śīla with Bāppā.

According to some, the author of the Kumbhalgarh Inscription himself seems to have confused

the controversy regarding the identification of Bāppā with Śīla, as he first mentions Bāppā as the founder of the family in verses 121-126 and describes Gunadatta as his son. So there is little chance of this identification⁸⁰. Again, "some even identify Bappa with Siladitya which is absurd due to the known dates of both"⁸¹.

Regarding the first objection, it may be pointed out that the author of the record himself states that he has corrected the errors and prepared the list after a laborious research by consulting many old prasastis dealing with the genealogy of the rulers of the family⁸². So the genealogy contained in the Rājavarṇana section, the original portion of the inscription, should be attached with more importance. The Rājavarṇana section tallies with the Ātpur Inscription. Regarding the second objection, it may be argued that the date of Bappa as given in the Ekalingamānātmya and the Ekalingapurāṇa, that is, the eighth century A.D. may be attached with least importance, as the texts in

80. Somani, R.V., op.cit. p. 39.

81. Banerjee, Adris, op.cit. p. 171.

82. Verse 138.

question record the bardic tradition only. We are on surer ground regarding the chronological position of Śīla alias Bāppā, when we take into consideration the date A.D. 646 of the Sāmoli inscription. Śīla alias Bāppā probably ruled from A.D. 646 to A.D. 661, the date of Śīla's successor.

Chapter - IV

Rise of the Guhilas to Power

The decline of the Gupta empire was followed by the rise of a number of independent kingdoms struggling with each other for political supremacy in Northern India. Among them mention may be made of the kingdoms ruled over by the Maitrakas, the Kalachuris, the Maukharis, the Later Guptas, the Gurjaras, the Guhilas, and the kingdoms of Bengal, Orissa, Nepal and Assam. The kingdoms of Kashmir and Thaneswar came into prominence in due course. Northern India did not witness an imperial unity till the advent of Harshavardhana (606-647 A.D.) in north Indian politics as the king of Kanauj. It was in the background of political disintegration during the period between the downfall of the Imperial Guptas and the rise of Harshavardhana to power that the Guhilas carved out an independent kingdom of their own in Mewār (Rājputānā) and came to be recognised as a political power of importance.

Guhadatta

Guhila also known as Guhadatta, was the founder of the Guhila dynasty. The Ātpur Inscription¹ distinctly refers to Guhadatta as the progenitor of the Guhila family. As the date of Śīla or Śīlāditya is known to be 646 A.D. (Sīmoli Inscription)², Guha, or Guhadatta, fourth in ascent from the former, might have ruled in A.D. 566, if we assign an average reign-period of 20 years for each reign.

The Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1331) informs us that Guhila (Guhadatta) who was as glorious as Vishṇu ruled his territory with justice and the line of kings descended from him bore the well-known name of Guhila³. "The piśāchas experiencing great joy at the close embrace with their wives, fattened on the blood of the armies of the hostile kings, do not, when the Guhila king conduct a

1. I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

2. E.I. XX, p. 97.

3. Verse 13, Bhāv. Ins. p. 75.

battle remember, the flight of Bhimasena, the cause of the destruction of the Kurus"⁴. From the evidence furnished by the Chitor Inscription, it would be reasonable for us to assume that he acquired the status of a powerful king even at the beginning of his career. It has been suggested by G.H. Ojha that after the fall of Hūṇa Mihirakula the whole of Rājputānā and neighbouring countries came under the authority of Guhadatta⁵. The expansion of the Guhila kingdom and the consolidation of it should have taken reasonable time.

In 1869, two thousands silver coins⁶ were dug up at Āgrā. Those coins bearing the legends śrī Guhila and Guhilapati were attributed by Cunningham to Guhadatta. It has been suggested by some scholars⁷ that those coins, having been found at Āgrā, should be attributed to a king ruling in the region. But we have no evidence to show that any Guhila king, so powerful and rich as to issue as many as 2000 coins, ruled in Āgrā region. H.C. Ray⁸ holds that

4. Verse 14, Bhāv. Ins. p. 75.

5. HR I, pp. 400ff.

6. Carlileye, An. Rep. A.S.I. IV p. 95.

7. Samar, R.L., 'Ancient coins of Mewar', JNSI. XX. Pt. I (1955) p. 26.

8. DMNI. II. p. 1199.

Śrī Guhila or Guhila Śrī coins belonged to Guhila II of the Chātsu branch. But that Guhila II served as a feudatory under the Pratihāra ruler Bhoja I (836-885 A.D.) is evident from the Chātsu Inscription⁹ of Bālāditya. There is less probability that a feudatory ruler should have an independent coinage of his own. So Ojha¹⁰ is quite justified in attributing those coins to Guhadatta-Guhila.

Further, nine coins¹¹ of Guhadatta have been brought to our notice. On palaeographical grounds, those pieces have been assigned to the 6th century A.D. Of these coins, three are made of copper and the rest are of copper-plated silver. On most of these coins, we find the bust of the king, wearing a crown the legend Guha, the solar symbol and the Sassanian fire-altar.

On the silver coins the legend is Guhila Śrī or Śrī Guhila whereas on the copper and copper-plated silver coins the legend is Guha only. It may be

9. E.I. XII, p. 10.

10. HR I. pp. 400ff.

11. JNSI, XX, pp. 26ff.

argued that the coins bearing two different types of legends should be attributed to two different rulers. But from the epigraphic records it appears that the names Guhila and Guha were borne by one and the same king.

Bhoja

Guha, Guhadatta or Guhila was succeeded by Bhoja. From the Kumbhalgarh Inscription¹² (1460 A.D.) it is known that Guha had a son Lātivinoda by name. He was so called as he passed his days in enjoyment with the ladies from Lāṭa Country. As the name is not furnished by any other epigraphic record, it is probable that he did never rule. Guhadatta was immediately succeeded by Bhoja. Assigning a period of 20 years for each reign and counting backward from the time of Śīla (A.D. 646, Sāmoli inscription), it may be held that Bhoja might have ruled sometime between A.D. 586 and A.D. 606.

The Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342) yields the information that Bhoja was a devotee of Viṣṇu,

12. Verses 127 to 133 , E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

who crushed the pride of the ocean¹³. The Kumbhalgarh Inscription (A.D. 1460) informs us, that he constructed a tank of Ekalingaji¹⁴. So from these records it appears that Bhoja was himself a devotee of Vishnu inspite of his patronage to Ekalingaji, the family-deity of the Guhilas. Two copper coins¹⁵ of Bhoja have so far been discovered. On the obverse of the first coin, before the bust of the king the legend Bho is engraved. It is taken to suggest the abbreviation of the name Bhoja. On the obverse of the second coin, the legend Śrī Bhoja is engraved before the bust of the king. The reverses of both the coins are blurred and difficult to decipher.

Mahendra and Nāga

After Bhoja, Mahendra and Nāga ascended the throne of Mewār one after another. Some scholars¹⁶ are of opinion that Mahendra - Nāga should be identified with Nāgāditya who had a tragic end

13. Verse 13, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

14. Verse 25, E.I. XXIV, p. 317.

15. JNSI. XX, Pt. I, pp. 26 ff.

16. Raychaudhuri, G.C., History of Mewar, Cal,
p. 29.

at the hands of the Bhils, according to the bardic tradition. If we go through the Ātpur¹⁷ inscription we find that Mahendra and Nāga are mentioned separately. In the Kumbhalgarh Inscription, it is stated that Mahendra, Nāga, Bāppā and Aparājita were successively born in the family of Guhila¹⁸. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Mahendra ruled between 606-626 A.D. and Nāga between 626-646 A.D. The last date of Nāga is the date of Śīla or Śīlāditya¹⁹ alias Bāppā, the successor of Nāga or Nāgāditya of tradition.

When the first four kings of the Guhila family ruled in Mewār (566 to 646 A.D.), the Maukharis and Harshavardhana are known to have enjoyed successively political supremacy in Northern India. It is not known whether the Maukharis or Harshavardhana held sway in Mewār. The expansion of Harshavardhana's suzerainty in Gujrāt and Kāthiāwār region and the defeat of the Maitraka king Dharsena II in his hands probably suggests that south-

17. I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

18. Verse 139, E.I. XXIX. pp. 304ff.

19. E.I. XX. p. 97.

western Rājasthān²⁰ might have been included in Harsha's empire. The first-half of the 7th century A.D. was characterized by the dominance of Harshavardhana in North-Indian politics.

Śīla alias Bāppā

It is during the period when Śīlāditya alias Bāppā (A.D. 646-661) ruled in Mewār, the reign of Harsha had already come to an end. The absence of an imperial authority let loose the centrifugal forces. The use of the royal titles of Maitraka king Dharasena IV²¹ as paramabhattāraka Parmesvara Mahārājādhirāja Chakravartin in A.D. 645 and the use of Vikrama Saṃvat in the Guhila records of Nāgda-Āhār indicate that the territories in which Harsha had his sway formed independent kingdoms. Till the rise of the Imperial Pratiharas in Kanauj, there was no power in the North which could resist the Guhilas from acquiring more and more political power.

20. Cf. Sircar, D.C., The Guhilas of Kisāindha, Cal., 1965, p. 48.

21. E.I. XXXV, pp. 282-283.

From the Sāmoli Inscription²² (A.D. 646) we learn that Śīlāditya was the conquerer of his foes and as a giver of delight to the gods, brāhmaṇas and gurus, was another moon on the earth for his clan. The inscription yields the information about the construction of the temple of Araṇyavāsini-Devī by Jentaka, the leader of a merchant's guild. Jentaka migrated from Vāṭanagara, which is identical with Vasantgarh in the Sirohi State, about sixteen miles from Sāmoli, the findspot of the inscription. Zinc and Copper mines were excavated during the reign of Śīlāditya providing resources and wealth. That the prosperity of Mewār presumably attracted the merchants to Mewār appears from the above record. Śīlāditya extended the boundary of his kingdom upto Bhūmat district and Sirohi state, as Sāmoli and Vasantgarh lie within this area.

The Chitor Inscription²³ (V.S. 1331) tells us that Śīla had taken the goddess of victory from the mātangas after bathing her in water from the

22. E.I. XX, p. 97.

23. Verse 20, Bhāv. Ins. pp. 75ff.

edge of his sword. The word mātaṅga has been taken to indicate the Kirātas, mountaineers, barbarians etc. and as such they might represent the Bhils²⁴. We may recall in this connection, the violent death of Nāgāditya in the hands of the Bhils recorded in the bardic tradition. Śīla alias Bāppā seems to have taken a revenge against the Bhils.

The expression navarājyalakṣmi²⁵ occurring in the inscription seems to indicate the recovery of the lost paternal kingdom. We are told by the Mount Abu Inscription (V.S. 1342) that the country which was in battle totally submerged in the dripping fat (Meda) of the wicked people by Bāppaka bears the name Śrī Medapāṭa²⁶. The 'wicked people', referred to here, probably stand for the Bhils.

According to the bardic tradition Bāppā spent his early life at Nāgindra, identical with Nāgahrada or Nāgdā near Udaipur. Later, he served under the Mori prince of Chitor, Māna or Maṇurāja. After giving

24. Raychaudhuri, G.C., History of Mewar, Cal, p. 29.

25. Verse II, Bhāv. Ins. p. 75.

26. Verse 7, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

successful resistance to the foreign invasion, he is said to have overthrown the power of the Moris or Mauryas and founded the Guhila dynasty of Mewār²⁷. The historicity of the tradition may be examined in the light of epigraphic records discovered so far.

The existence of the Moris or Mauryas is evident from some epigraphic records. Firstly, in a record discovered at Jhālrapatan dated A.D. 690, the Mauryas are referred to²⁸. Secondly, a record found in Kotāh state (dated A.D. 738-739) refers to the local prince as a friend of king Dhavala of Maurya lineage²⁹. Thirdly, the Dabok Inscription, also known as Dhod Inscription³⁰, refers to Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara Dhavalappadeva as the suzerain of Guhilaputra Dhanika who ruled in Udaipur. D.R. Bhandarkar³¹ reads the date of the inscription as 407 G.E., that is, A.D. 725-726. R.R. Halder³² reads it as 207 H.E., that is,

27. AR I, p. 245.

28. I.A. LVI, p. 213; E.I. XX, pp. 122ff ;

Bhandarkar's list No. 18.

29. I.A. XIX, p. 19.

30. E.I. XX, p. 187.

31. Bhandarkar's list No. 1371.

32. E.I. XX, p. 122.

A.D. 813. D.C. Sircar³³ refutes these readings and suggests that the year would be V.S. 701 corresponding to A.D. 644. But neither the date read by R.R. Halder, nor the date read by D.C. Sircar seems to be correct, as Harsharāja, fourth in descent from Dhanika according to the Chātsu Inscription³⁴ of Bālāditya (of the 10th century A.D.), was a contemporary of Bhoja I, that is, Pratihāra Mihira Bhoja (836-885 A.D.). Of course, Sircar did not identify Dhanika of Dhod or Dabok Inscription with Dhanika of Chātsu Inscription. However, on palaeographical grounds, the characters are not earlier than the 8th or 9th century A.D. In that case, A.D. 725-26, as suggested by Bhandarkar, should be acceptable as the date of the inscription. Further, Dhavalappa-deva, mentioned in this record, seems to be the same as Dhavala, referred to in the record found at Kotāh³⁵. The evidence of Dabok Inscription indicates that the Guhilas/^{of Dhod}remained feudatories under the Mauryas till the latter were overthrown in the 2nd quarter of the 8th century A.D. by Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa I alias Nāgavaloka.

33. Sircar, D.C. op.cit. pp. 32-33.

34. E.I. XII, p. 10.

35. I.A. XIX, p. 19.

The Dabok Inscription describes Dhanika as the son of Guhila who ruled over Dhavagartā. The Chātsu Inscription mentions Dhanika as the son of Guhila. It is, therefore, not unlikely Dhanika of the Chātsu Inscription branched off from the Chātsu line and migrated to Dhavagartā. This is chronologically tenable. Again, one Dhanika figures as a local ruler in the Inscription dated V.S. 887 (A.D. 830) discovered at Nāsūn in Ajmer - Merwārā, where he is described as the father of Isanabhata³⁶.

It is stated in the bardic tradition that Bāppā conquered Chitor from the Mori king Māna³⁷, who is to be identified with the author of an inscription. If we consider Māna to be the last king of the Maurya dynasty of Udaipur, it is difficult to hold that Dhavalappadeva, the Maurya king, ruled in Udaipur in A.D. 738. It seems that Māna Mori and Dhavalappa of the Maurya lineage did not belong to one and the same family and that they did not rule in the same area. D.C. Sircar³⁸ has given a genealogy

36. I.A. LIX, p. 21.

37. AR. I, p. 245.

38. Sircar, D.C. op.cit. p. 52.

of the Mauryas of U.P. - Rājasthān region on the basis of an epigraph of the later Mauryas found at Mathurā. The epigraph contains the names of some kings of this family, namely, Kṛishṇarāja, Chandragupta, Āryarāja and Karka Dindirāja. The last-mentioned king is said to have burnt the city of Kānyakubja towards the close of the reign of Harsha. It is to be noted that Sircar places Dhavalappa (Dhavalātman I), the overlord of Guhila Dhanika (644 A.D.), between Kṛishṇarāja and Chandragupta. He also suggests that Dhavalātman (Dhavalappa II), the overlord of the Brāhmaṇa Chief Śivagaṇa of the Kānāsawā Inscription (738 A.D.)³⁹ was the successor of Karka Dindirāja and that Dhavalappadeva of the Dabok Inscription may have been a predecessor of Dhavalātman of the Kānāsawā Inscription.

Sircar's view is not beyond criticism. Firstly, there is hardly anything to show that Dhavalappadeva, the overlord of Guhila Dhanika, was the successor of Kṛishṇarāja. Secondly, the date of the Dabok Inscription as suggested by Sircar raises doubt. Thirdly, the Kānāsawā Inscription (738 A.D.)

39. I.A. XIX, p. 19.

mentions the name of Dhavalātman (not Dhavalappa) who, according to Sircar, is to be identified with Dhavalappa II. Even if we identify Dhavalappa with Dhavalātman, it is difficult to understand how Dhavalātman could be the successor of Karka Dindirāja of the Mauryas of the Mathurā region.

In fact, no relation between the Mauryas of the Mathurā region and Dhavalappadeva of the Pabok Inscription is traceable. It is also not possible to determine without evidence the relation between the family of Maurya Dhavalappadeva and the Moris of Chitor. The Chitorgarh Mānā-Sarovara Inscription⁴⁰ (V.S. 770, A.D. 713) contains the name of four Kings viz. Mahesvara, Bhima, Bhoja and Māna. There is no similarity between these names and the name of Dhavalappa. The name Dhavalappa is also not similar with those of the Mauryas of the Mathurā Inscription⁴¹ of the 7th or 8th century A.D., namely, Kṛishnarāja, Chandragupta, Āryarāja and Dindirāja. Bhandarkar suggests that Dhavalappa is a south

40. Bhandarkar's List No. 16 ; AR, ASI, 1934-35, pp. 56 ff.

41. E.I. XXXII, pp. 207 ff.

Indian name. D.C. Sircar holds that the family of Dhavalappa was related to that of the Konkan region in the south. The tradition about Bāppā's occupation of Chitor from a Mori ruler, which is apparently connected with the existence of the Mori clan of Paramāra Rājputs, may refer to the prior Maurya occupation in parts of Rājasthān⁴². It is probable that after the disruption of the mighty Gupta empire, The Mauryas along with their different branches including the Guhilas came to the forefront.

Did Bāppā occupy Chitor ?

According to the bardic tradition, in the first-half of the 8th century A.D., Bāppā Rāwāl is said to have brought Chitor under his occupation⁴³. Bāppā's conquest of Chitor from the Mori king Māna, as claimed in the bardic tradition, is also found in the Rājaprasasti Mahākāvya⁴⁴ of the latter-half of the 17th century A.D. and the epigraphic records

42. Sircar, D.C., op.cit. p. 52.

43. AR. I. p. 245.

44. Rājaprasasti Mahākāvya, 3rd Canto, V. 9-19.

of the same century⁴⁵. If Bāppā was in occupation of Chitor, it is difficult to explain his rule from Nāgahrada. No early records of the Guhilas associate Bāppā with Chitor. The earliest known epigraphic record of the Guhilas which for the first time mention the name of Bāppā is the Ekalinga Inscription of Naravāhana⁴⁶ (A.D. 971). It is stated in the inscription that Bāppā flourished at Nāgahrada. The inscriptions of the 13th century A.D.⁴⁷ also associate him with Nāgahrada. The bardic tradition is not, therefore, confirmed by the early epigraphic records. On the other hand, it appears from the available records that the Guhilas in the early period ruled from Nāgdā-Āhār region and Chitor was brought under their occupation at a much later date. Again, it is stated by Tod⁴⁸ that Chitor was in possession of a prince named Kukuresvara in 754 A.D. There remains still an uncertainty, although it seems that he is to be identified with a Pratihāra ruler of the time.

45. 'Rāysāgar Talāo Inscription' (V.S. 1732),
Bhāv. Ins. p. 145.

46. Bhāv. Ins. p. 69.

47. 'Chitor Ins.' (V.S. 1331), Bhāv. Ins. p. 75.
'Mount Ābu Ins.' (V.S. 1342), I.A. XVI, p. 347.

48. AR. III, p. 1823.

An attempt may be made to explain why the name of Bāppā is associated with Chitor. The tradition informs us that the Guhilas traced their descent from their ancestor Bāppā Rāwāl and for that matter his name may have been associated with Chitor, which formed for centuries the nerve centre of Mewār. The reason why so many legends gathered round the name of Bāppā is obvious. Contemporary records do not suggest that he occupied Chitor. On the otherhand, it is quite evident from the records⁴⁹ that during the reign of Jaitrasimha (1213-1252 A.D.), Chitor was occupied by the Guhilas and formed the capital of the Guhilas after the destruction of Nāgdā by the Muslims⁵⁰. The earliest Guhila capital was at Nāgahrada or Nāgdā, wherefrom it was later shifted to Āghāṭa or Āhār in the time of Bhartripaṭṭa II⁵¹

49. Chirwā Inscription (V.S. 1330) records that Jaitrasimha appointed Kshema as the talāraksha of the fort, Verses 29-31. E.I. XXII, p. 288, The Kumbhalgarh Inscription (V.S. 1517) suggests that Jaitrasimha excreised sway over Chitrakūṭa, Āghāṭa, Medapāṭa and Vāgaḍa, Verses 153-55 E.I. XXIV, pp. 325ff.

50. HR. II. p. 460.

51. 'Āhār Inscription of Bhartripaṭṭa II' (A.D. 943) RMR 1914 p. 2.

(942-43 A.D.). Again, during the time of Vijaya-simha, sometime in the last quarter of the 11th century A.D., the Guhila capital was transferred to Nāgdā and during the time of Jaitrasimha (1213-1252 A.D.) the capital was finally transferred to Chitor.

That Bāppā was not the founder of the Guhila dynasty is evident from the Ekalinga Inscription⁵² (971 A.D.) where it is stated that he was the moon among the princes of the Guhila family. In the Ātpur Inscription⁵³ (A.D. 977) occurs the name of Guhadatta as the first name in the genealogical list. But tradition furnishes the information that Bāppā seized royal power by the grace of a saint named Hārīta and the same is repeated in a large number of epigraphic records⁵⁴. This leaves one with an impression that the Guhilas first came to power in the time of Bāppā. The tradition is confirmed by the occurrence

52. Bhāv. Ins. p. 69.

53. I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

54. Verses 10-11, 'Chitor Ins.' (V.S. 1331) Bhāv. Ins. p. 75. Verses 10-11 'Mount Ābu Ins.' (V.S. 1342) I.A. XVI, p. 347. Verses 15-16 'Ekalinga Ins.' (V.S. 1545) Bhāv. Ins. p. 117.

of the name of Bāppā at the top of the list of the Guhila rulers in later records. Tradition along with some late Guhila records have thus exalted the position of Bāppā.

But history should be separated from myth. Bardic tradition did not grow in a century or two, but required a long time for its crystalisation. Further, the bards began to play their role in the court of Chitor after the Guhilas had seized permanently an imperial power. Therefore, it seems that the bardic tradition did develop much later than the time of Bāppā. Bāppā was not the founder of the royal dynasty. Rather, he was the founder of the greatness of the Guhila dynasty and we cannot reasonably subscribe to the view based on tradition that he first brought Chitor under his occupation⁵⁵.

55. Chattopadhyay, B.K., - 'The first Guhila occupation of Chitor' Published in the summaries of papers. AIOC XXXI, p. 313.

Some Coins attributed to Bāppā

The number of coins attributed to Bāppā are three⁵⁶. One gold coin bearing the legend Śrī Vappa is attributed to him by G.H. Ojha⁵⁷, another gold coin bearing a legend of doubtful reading Śrī Vapparāja is attributed by A.S. Altekar and a copper coin bearing an illegible legend read as Śrī Vappa is attributed by A.S. Altekar⁵⁸ and R.L. Samar⁵⁹. The obverse and reverse devices of these three coins are similar with slight variations. The gold coin of Ojha weighing 115 grains was found at Ajmer. The findspot and weight of Altekar's coin is not recorded and the findspot of R.L. Samar's copper coin weighing $27\frac{1}{2}$ rattis is not known. The obverse of the coins shows a border of dots, which is called mālā in Rājputānā. The legend referring to the issuer of the coin, a standing trident,

56. Chattonadhyay, B.K. "Some coins attributed to Guhila ruler Bāppā" - JNSI XLVII (1985) pp. 129-130.

57. URI. I. pp. 110-111; JASB (1927) pt. II. 14 ;
NS. XXIII, pp. 14-18. NPP I (1921) No.3
pp. 214-285.

58. PAIOC, VII (Baroda, 1933) pp. 703-705.

59. JNSI. XX, pt. I, pp. 26 ff.

a Phallus symbol of Śiva, a bull in a sitting posture facing the phallus symbol and below a man, with usually long face and pierced ears, lying prostrate on its stomach, below the bull and the phallus symbol. Trident is said to be the weapon of Siva and bull is the vehicle of the god.

Again, the reverse of the coins shows the border of dots, the chowri and the umbrella, the cross within a circle and the cow suckling its calf. Below, there are two parallel lines associated with the symbol of a fish⁶⁰.

It is interesting to note that the obverse and reverse devices of the coins in question confirm the information about Bāppā that may be deduced from the epigraphic records⁶¹ and the bardic tradition⁶².

60. The chowri and the umbrella seem to represent the royalty. The cross within a circle is said to be the symbol of the solar race. The two parallel lines with the presence of fish is the indication of the two banks of river Kūtilā.

61. a) 'Chitor Ins.' (V.S. 1331) - Bhāv. Ins. p. 75.

b) 'Mount Ābu Ins.' (V.S. 1342) - I.A. XVI, p.347.

62. AR I. pp. 244-246.

The obverse devices remind us of Bāppā's devotion to Ekalingaji or Śiva. The reverse devices seem to suggest that the king who claimed descent from the solar race enjoyed sovereign power. Beginning his career as a shepherd tending cattle on the bank of a river under the order of Hārita Rishi, Bāppā ultimately rose to the royal position. These facts about Bāppā's career seem to be illustrated by the devices occurring on the coins bearing his name.

A re-examination of the legends occurring on the coins is essential before finalising their attribution to the Guhila ruler Bāppā himself. Although it has been claimed by Altekar and Samar that on their respective coins occur the legend Śrī Vapparāja and Śrī Vappa, one may have a strong reason to raise doubt regarding the reading of the legends. Besides, the script used in the coins seems to be far removed from the probable date of Bāppā suggested so far by different scholars. On the other hand, the legend occurring on G.H. Ojha's specimen appears to be clearly referring to the name of Śrī Vappa. There is no indication to suggest that the latter part of the legend referring to Rājā is missing. Palaeographically, the Brāhmī script used

on Ojha's specimen is assigned to the 7th or the 8th century A.D. On this ground, he suggested that the epithet Bāppā, meaning 'father', was most probably attributed to the Guhila ruler Kālabhoja. But as it appears from George Buhler's palaeographic chart, the script in question should be more reasonably assigned to the 7th century A.D. In that case, Bāppā is to be identified with the Guhila king Śīla.

Whereas G.H. Ojha's specimen was discovered at Ajmer in Rājputānā, the findspots of the other two coins still remain uncertain. Keeping in view this uncertainty as also late date of the script used on those coins, it would be reasonable to question whether those were issued during the reign of Bāppā himself. It was not unlikely that those two specimens were just imitations in gold and copper of the original one. The imitations were presumably devised by some later rulers of Rājputānā to commemorate the contributions made by Bāppā towards the consolidation of the Guhila power in Mewār.

Now, the question remains why Bāppā issued a single gold coin represented by the specimen of Ojha. It appears that the coin was not meant for circulation as a medium of exchange. Rather, it might have been issued immediately after Bāppā's accession to royal power in order to commemorate an event of national importance to the Guhilas. Secondly, the question may be raised whether the epithet Bāppā meaning 'father' could be used by Bāppā himself. Because, it was in all probability attributed to him by later generations of the Guhila rulers out of gratitude to him. It may be suggested, in this connection, that Bāppā was the name given to the king in question before his accession by his preceptor Hārīta Rishi out of love and affection. That is why, Bāppā never attempted to shake off this epithet awarded to him by Hārīta. The tradition recorded in the epigraphs give us to understand that it was by the grace of the Hārīta Rishi Bāppā rose to political power and royal position. The epithet that had been originally symbol of affection seems to have been later used as that of gratitude.

Aparājita

Śilāditya alias Bāppā was succeeded by Aparājita, the 6th king of the Ātpur Inscription. We have an inscription of the time of Aparājita⁶³ (661 A.D.), the findspot of which is Kunda, a village near Nāgdā. It describes Aparājita's leader of forces was Varāhasimha. It is significant to note that Aparājita is simply styled rājā, whereas his leader of forces Varāhasimha is styled mahārāja, indicating his de-facto authority. Although Aparājita was the ruler the military command seems to have been at the disposal of Varāhasimha. It was by the latter's prowess that a number of rājās were forced to ^{bow} down their heads before Aparājita⁶⁴. The inscription also records that Yaśomatī, the wife of Varāhasimha, constructed a temple of Vishṇu.

Mahendra II

Mahendra II succeeded Aparājita. We get little information from the available epigraphic records

63. E.I. IV, pp. 32-32.

64. Verse 3-4 'Nāgdā Ins. of Aparājita' (661 A.D.),
E.I. IV, pp. 31-32.

about the reign of Mahendra. Even his specific date remained still unknown. The date of his predecessor Aparājita is known to be 661 A.D., while that of his 10th successor Bhartṛipatṭa II is 943 A.D. Therefore the period of (943-661) = 282 years was covered by 10 generations. Assigning a period of 28 years for each reign on an average calculation, it may be held that Mahendra ruled sometime about the seventh decade of the 7th century A.D.

Kālabhoja

Mahendra was succeeded by Kālabhoja sometime in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. As pointed out by Tod⁶⁵, Kālabhoja's warlike qualities are extolled in an inscription discovered in the valley of Nāgdā. In the Ātpur Inscription⁶⁶ (A.D. 977), Kālabhoja is described as arkasomāśobhitah, that is, resplendent like the sun and the moon. We are told by the Chitor Inscription⁶⁷ (V.S. 1331) that his

65. AR. I, p. 260.

66. Verse 2, 'Ātpur Inscription', I.A. XXXIX, p.191.

67. Verse 21, Bhāv. Ing. p. 75.

great prowess was shinning in all sides. He surpassed Kānadeva in comeliness of body and possessed of valour that was irresistible by his enemies. The Mount Ābu Inscription⁶⁸ (V.S. 1342) tells us that he was the crest ornament of the princes of the family, punished the ruler of Kārṇāṭa, and delighted the mind with his lordly arts and friendly disposition. It has been suggested by G.C. Raychaudhuri⁶⁹ that the Kārṇāṭas mentioned in the Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342) are the Chalukyas of Vātāpī. The Chalukya King Vinayāditya (A.D. 680-696) claim to have exercised suzerainty over the Cholas and led an expedition to Northern India. Kālabhoja also put an end to the pleasure of love of Choda women⁷⁰. It appears that the Guhilas and the Chalukyas made a common cause against the Cholas.

Khumṃāṇa I

Kālabhoja was succeeded by Khumṃāṇa I. Who probably ruled sometime in the 2nd and 3rd quarter

68. Verse 15, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

69. HM p. 32.

70. I.A. XVI, p. 347.

of the 8th century A.D. Some of his contemporaries were Dulā Rāi of Sākambhari, Nāgabhaṭa I of Avanti, Brāhmaṇa Pratihāra Siluka, ruler of Māndor (Jodhpur) Gurjaratrā and Bhinmal in Mārwar, Solānki Mongal Rāj of Lāṭa and Deva Rāj Bhaṭṭi of Jaisalmer and Bhāwālpur.

Arab Invasion : Pratihāra supremacy

The eighth century created some problems in the life of Rājasthān. First, the problems were created by the invasion of the Arabs. Second, Rājasthān, particularly Mewār, became a cock-pit of the Pratihāra-Rāshtrakūṭa struggle.

The scene opens by the invasion of Junaid, the Arab governor of Sindh, sometime between 724-739 A.D. during the Caliphate of Hasham (724-743 A.D.). Tod⁷¹ has quoted from the Khumāna Rāso a description of the conflict between Khummāna, the Mewār prince, and Mahmud Khorsan Pat, when the latter invaded Mewār. The reference given by Tod indicates that he was the

71. AR. I, p. 260.

famous Sultan of Ghajni. But, in order to avoid the chronological difficulties, Tod suggested the name of the Muslim chief to be a mistake for that of Abbāsīd Caliph Al- Māmūn (813-833 A.D.). Ojha opines⁷² that if there is any historical foundation of the tradition recorded in the Khummāna Rāso, the invasion should have taken place during the reign of Khummāna II, whose reign period is to be placed between 810-830 A.D. Khummāna I most probably flourished in the 2nd and 3rd quarter of the 8th century A.D. It is more probable that his adversary was Junaid who is said to have raided Marmad, Mandal, Dahnaj, Barwas, Ujjain and Al-Mālibā⁷³. Marmad is to be identified with Maru-Māra, the desert region of Rājasthān corresponding to Jaisalmer and part of Jodhpur. Barwas is to be identified with Broach. Mālibā and Ujjain stand for Mālava and Ujjain of Madhya-Pradeśh. Mandal is to be identified with Mandal in Jhālwar. It is stated by the Arab writer Al-Bilāduri⁷⁴ that Junaid overran with formidable

72. HR. II. p. 420.

73. HIED. I. p. 126.

74. Ibid.

forces and devastated these regions. Similar account is also available in the Navasāri Grant⁷⁵ of Chaulukya prince Pulakesī Avānījanāśraya (A.D. 739). It is learnt that the Arabs defeated the Saindhavas, Kachchellas, Cāvotakas, Mauryas, Gurjaras and advanced as far south as Navasāri. It is, therefore, possible that the Arab invasion took place either in A.D. 739 or sometime before the date of the record. It has been suggested by G.C. Raychaudhuri⁷⁶ that in the Rāso, there is the reference to the incursions made by the forces of Junaid. But the success of the Arabs were short-lived. We come to know from the Gwālior Inscription⁷⁷ that Nāgabhaṭa I saved western India from the Arabs and gradually brought under his sway a large number of states that had been overrun by the Arabs. Nāgabhaṭa I came to power in A.D. 730 and ruled upto A.D. 756. The last date is known from his Hansot Copper Plate Grant⁷⁸. Khummāṇa was, therefore,

75. BGI, Pt. I. p. 109.

76. Raychaudhuri, G.C., History of Mewar, p. 32.

77. E.I. XVIII, p. 112.

78. E.I. XII, p. 202.

a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa I and probably fought against the Arab invaders side by side with the Pratihāra ruler Nāgabhaṭa I (730-756 A.D.). It seems that the pratihāra king acquired the leadership of petty kingdoms of Rājputānā by his ceaseless efforts to resist the repeated incursions of the Arabs of Sindh. In this process, The Pratihāras ruling in Mālwa, with the capital at Ujjain had their political supremacy recognised by the Guhilas of Mewār.

In course of his campaign, Junaid conquered Bāilaman and Jujr, entered Mārwar and raiding Bhinmal, and Badnīer (southern portion of Jodhpur Division) proceeded as far as Mālwa and finally returned through Gujrāt. The bardic tradition recorded by Tod⁷⁹ informs us that Durlabha Rāi, popularly known as Doolā Rāi, the Chāhamāna king of Sambhar was first attacked by the Muhammedans. Doolā Rāi was slain and his only child of seven years was killed by an arrow while playing on the battlements⁸⁰. Bhinmal, Māndor and Chitor seem to have been greatly

79. AR. II. p. 426.

80. I.H.Q. XXIX, pp. 315ff.

affected by the incursions of Junaid. The Arabs, however, received a set back, when they reached Navasāri, at the hands of brave Pulakesī of Lāṭa. Again, the Gwālior prasasti⁸¹ of Bhoja I (836-885 A.D.) of the 9th century A.D. tells us that the Mlechhas were defeated by Nāgavaloka or Nāgabhaṭa I. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to hold that a coalition of powers was formed to resist the Arabs. This coalition was joined by Nāgabhaṭa I, Pulakesī of Lāṭa and Khummāna I.

The Arab invasion appears to have had its impact on Rājputānā in general and on Mewār in particular. Although Al-Bilāduri does not inform us whether the Guhila capital Nāgdā was invaded by the Muslims. But the storm appears to have blown over Mewār, as the Mauryas who were ruling with their centre of power at Chitor had to bear the brunt of the invasion. During this period of crisis, Khummāna I might have stood against the invaders and defended his territory. Khummāna fought with the ruler of the Deccan⁸², probably identical with Rāshtrakūṭa.

81. E.I. XVIII, p. 112.

82. Verse 136, 'Kumbhalgarh Inscription' (1460 A.D.)
E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

Dantidurga and also had an encounter with Singh of Mālwa⁸³.

It has been stated by Tod⁸⁴ that "Khomman fought twenty - four great battles and his name like that of Caesar became a family distinction..... Khoman by the advice of the Brahmins, resigned the Gadi to his younger son Jograz; but again resumed, slaying his advisers and execrating the name of Brahmin, which he almost exterminated in his own dominions. Khoman was at length slain by his own son Mangul".

We have at present no evidence except the bardic tradition that Khomān or Khummāna abdicated the throne in favour of his younger son Jogrāj. In the epigraphic records we do not find mention of the name of Jogrāj as the son of Khummāna. Again, the available epigraphic evidence do not suggest his abdication of the throne in favour of his younger son. We have no evidence that Khomān was slain by his own son Mangul. The name of the latter is also

83. Ekalingamāhātmya, Verse 31.

84. AR. I. p. 273.

not found in the epigraphic or other literary records. The epigraphs give us to understand that Khummāṇa was succeeded by Mattatā⁸⁵.

Mattatā

Mattatā ascended the throne sometime in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D., when the Pratihāra ruler Nāgabhaṭa I (730-756 A.D.) had already carved out a kingdom in Mālwa and Eastern Rājputānā, a branch of the Pratihāras was ruling in and around Broach and the main branch of the Pratihāras were had their authority in Jodhpur. Vatsarāja (778-815 A.D.), the next powerful Pratihāra ruler having his seat of authority at Ujjain in Mālwa, was involved in a conflict with the Pālas, on the one hand, and the Rāshtrakūṭas, on the other, for the occupation of Kanauj that formed the centre of north Indian politics. The evidence of Jinasena's Harivaṃśa Purāṇa (composed in 783 A.D.) indicates that Vatsarāja was the king of Avanti (i.e. Mālwa), although the Daulatpur Copper Plate⁸⁶ and the

85. 'Ātpur Inscription' (977 A.D.), I.A. XXXIX, p.191.

86. E.I. V, p. 208.

Osiā Inscription⁸⁷ suggest that Vatsarāja's kingdom comprised parts of Central Rājputānā.

The Chitor Inscription⁸⁸ (V.S. 1331) records in Kāvya-style that Mattata achieved military victory against the contemporary king of Mālwa whose identification is a matter of speculation. The ruler of Mālwa, it has been suggested by some⁸⁹, might have been Upendra Paramāra. But Upendra ascended the throne of Mālwa not earlier than 849 A.D. (on the basis of the Harsolā Copper Plate Grant⁹⁰ (949 A.D.) of Harṣa alias Siyaka II as Upendra was the 5th in ascent from Siyaka II. It is learnt from the Ekalingamahātmya that Khummāṇa had to face an encounter with a prince named Singh of Mālwa⁹¹. Mattata had his victory probably against a successor of Singh. Chronologically, Mattata was the contemporary

87. ASI, WC, 1908-09 p. 108.

88. Bhāv. Ins. p. 75.

89. Bhatia, p. The Paramāras, New Delhi, 1970, p.26.

90. E.I. XIX, p. 236.

91. Ekalingamahātmya, Verse 31.

of Vatsarāja, the Pratihāra ruler. Where the latter, having been defeated by Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruva, took shelter in Rājputānā, Mattaṭa might have availed of the opportunity to strike a blow against him. Therefore, Singh of Mālwa, defeated by Khummāṇa, was probably Vatsarāja's predecessor Devaśakti during whose reign, according to the evidence of the Gwālior Prasasti⁹², the Pratihāra power was in jeopardy.

Bhartripaṭṭa I

Bhartripaṭṭa I or Bhartribhata succeeded Mattaṭa sometime in the beginning of the 9th century A.D. That he was a devotee of Śaṅkara is evident from the Chitor Inscription⁹³ (V.S. 1331). G.H. Ojha has identified him with Bhartripaṭṭa of the Chātsu branch, the founder of Chātsu line⁹⁴. But Harsharāja and Guhila II of the Chātsu line the 8th and the 9th in descent respectively from Bhartripaṭṭa, were the feudatories of Mihira Bhoja (836-885 A.D.).

92. E.I. XVIII, p. 108.

93. Verse 27, Bhāv. Ins. p. 75.

94. URI. I. pp. 116-117.

Bhartripaṭṭa, being 8th in ascent from Harsharāja, may be placed sometime in the latter-half of the 7th century A.D. Again, the Dabok Inscription⁹⁵ (A.D. 725) confirms the date of Bhartripaṭṭa. Bhartripaṭṭa was the fourth in ascent from Dhanika. Assigning a period of 20 years for each reign, Bhartripaṭṭa may be placed sometime in the middle of the 7th century A.D. But Bhartripaṭṭa I of the Nāgdā - Āhār line flourished sometime at the close of the 8th century A.D. or in the beginning of the 9th century A.D. So the identification of Bhartripaṭṭa of Chātsu line with Bhartripaṭṭa of the Nāgdā - Āhār line is not tenable. To Bhartripaṭṭa I may be attributed the coin bearing the legend Śrī Bhartri⁹⁶.

Simha

Bhartripaṭṭa I was succeeded by Simha sometime in the first quarter of the 9th century A.D., whose prowess is described in the Mount Ābu Inscription⁹⁷ (V.S. 1342). Four coins attributed to Simha

95. E.I. XX, p. 187.

96. JNSI, XX, pp. 26 ff.

97. Verse 17, 'Mount Ābu Inscription' (V.S. 1342).
I.A. XVI, p. 347.

were discovered⁹⁸. Among these, three are made of copper and the fourth one is of copper plated silver. Before the bust of the king occurs the legend Siha, which appears to be an abbreviated form of the name of Simha.

Khummaṇa II

The successor of Simha was Khummaṇa II. G.H. Ojha⁹⁹ suggests that Al-Māmun's attack on Mewār took place in the reign of Khummaṇa II. We may place the reign-period of Khummaṇa II sometime in the second - third quarter of the 9th century A.D. It is suggested that between A.D. 725 and A.D. 836 the Arabs raided Rājputānā twice. On the first occassion, they were frustrated by Nāgabhaṭa I, Yaśovarman and Pulakeśī Avanijanāśrya. On the second occassion, they were baffled by Nāgabhaṭa II, Govindarāja I, Guhila Khummaṇa II and Kokkāla I¹⁰⁰. It is to be noted that Mahmud's attack on Chitor,

98. JNSI. XX. pp. 26 ff.

99. HR. II. p. 460.

100. Ganguly, D.C., 'A Forgotten Muslim Invasion',
I.H.Q., Vol. XIV, pp. 113ff.

later corrected by Tod as Al-Māmun's attack on Chitor, is actually based on the evidence of the Khumṁāna Rāso of the 17th-18th century A.D. The date of Khumṁāna II, being determined on the basis of Aparājita's Nāgdā Inscription¹⁰¹ (A.D. 661) and Bhartripaṭṭa II's Āhār Inscription¹⁰² (A.D. 943), is to be placed sometime in the 2nd-3rd quarter of the 9th century A.D. Al-Māmun died in A.D. 833. The contemporaneity of Al-Māmun and Khumṁāna II may not be ruled out.

Pandit Ojha has drawn our attention to Rājasekhara's Prabandhakosha, composed in V.S. 1405, informing us that Chāhamāna Govindarāja I defeated Sultan Vega Varisā. According to D.C. Ganguly¹⁰³, he fought as a Vassal of Nāgabhaṭa II. Vega Varisā has been identified with Bashar, son of Daud, the governor of Sindh under the Caliph Al-Māmun. The Rāso might refer to the seige of Mewār by Al-Māmun¹⁰⁴.

101. E.I. IV, pp. 31-32.

102. RMR. 1914 p. 2.

103. I.H.Q. XIV, pp. 113ff.

104. Cf. Banerjee, Adris, Archaeological History of South Eastern Rajasthan, Varanasi, 1970, p.162.

Mahāyaka, Khummāna III and Bhartripatta II

According to the Ātour Inscription, the next rulers of Mewār were Mahāyaka, Khummāna III and Bhartripatta II who ascended the throne one after another. The reign-period of these three rulers of Mewār are to be placed sometime in the last quarter of the 9th century A.D. and first-half of the 10th century A.D. During this period, the contemporary Pratihāra rulers were Bhoja, Mahendrapāla I, Mahipāla, Vinayakapāla and Mahendrapāla II. With the death of Mahendrapāla I sometime after A.D. 908, the Pratihāra empire began to decline. The Rāshtrakūṭas, the hereditary enemies of the south, renewed their expeditions. Indra III captured Kanauj sometime before 927 A.D. We may consider the position of the Guhilas in this political background. In the Chitor¹⁰⁵ and Mount Ābu Inscriptions¹⁰⁶, it is recorded that Mahāyaka successfully fought against

105. Verse 33, 'Chitor Ins.' (V.S. 1331) - Bhāv. Ins. p. 75.

106. Verse 18, 'Mount Ābu Ins.' (V.S. 1342) - I.A. XVI, p. 347.

his adversaries. Mahāyaka's son and successor Khummāna III is described in the Chitorgarh Inscription (V.S. 1331)¹⁰⁷ as one whose feet were illuminated by the crest-jewels of princes. The Sādādi or Rānpur Inscription¹⁰⁸ (V.S. 1496) informs us that he made gifts of gold after weighing himself with his queen and son. The Kumbhalgarh Inscription¹⁰⁹ further tells us that he went on a digvijaya in course of which he defeated the Āṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kalingas, Trilingas, Saurāṣṭras, Choḍas, Dravidas and Gaudas. The description of the martial spirit of Khummāna points out some truth therein. It has been observed by G.C. Raychaudhuri¹¹⁰ that if one compares the above account with the account of Pratihāra Mahipāla's conquests in the Prachandapāṇḍava, the conjecture may be hazarded that Khummāna had a share in the repulse of the southerners invading Northern India under Indra III.

107. Verse 36, Bhāv. Ins. p. 75.

108. Archaeological Survey Report (1907-08) pp. 345ff.

109. Verses 134 to 137, E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

110. HM. p. 38.

With the death of Mahipāla, sometime in the fourth decade of the 10th century A.D., the Guhilas became more powerful. The decline of the Imperial Pratihāra power is reflected in the Ātpur Inscription¹¹¹ (A.D. 977) where Bhartripaṭṭa is described as Lokatrayikaṭilakajoni, that is, 'an unique ornament of the three worlds'. The Partābgarh Inscription¹¹² (946 A.D.) describes Bhartripaṭṭa as Mahārājādhirāja suggesting a definite increase of his political power.

It has been suggested by G.C. Raychaudhuri¹¹³ that Bhartripaṭṭa I, Siṃha, Khummāna II, Mahāyaka, Khummāna III and Bhartripaṭṭa II served as feudatories under the Pratihāras. But no substantial evidence has been adduced in support of this contention except a presumption based upon the evidence of the Partābgarh Inscription of Mahendrapāla II (A.D. 946)¹¹⁴. In fact, the Chātsu Inscription¹¹⁵ of Bālāditya, which

111. Verse 3, I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

112. E.I. XIV, p. 177.

113. HM. p. 36.

114. E.I. XIV, p. 177.

115. E.I. XII, p. 10.

is palaeographically assignable to the 10th century A.D., contains the earliest evidence as the feudatory status of the Guhilas under the overlordship of the Pratihāras. The Guhilas who ruled with their seat of authority at Chātsu represented a line different from that of Nāgdā - Āhār. The Chātsu Inscription gives us to understand that Śaṅkaragaṇa, Harsharāja and Guhila II of the Chātsu branch served as feudatories under their contemporary Pratihāra overlords¹¹⁶. While the first one is suggested to have been a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II (815-833 A.D.), the latter two Guhilas were contemporaries of Mihira Bhoja or Bhoja I (836-885 A.D.). It seems reasonable to assume that the said Guhila rulers rendered valuable military service to the Pratihāras in their struggle with the Pālas of Bengal. It is, therefore, evident that the Guhilas of the Chātsu branch acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pratihāras almost throughout the 9th century A.D. Evidently, the responsibility of rendering service as feudal or vassal chiefs to the Pratihāra overlords was mainly shouldered by the Chātsu branch.

116. Verses 14-22, 'Chātsu Inscription', E.I.
XII, p. 10.

It can hardly be said with certainty that Gurjaratrā, that was brought under the authority of the Pratihāras in the time of Vatsarāja, according to the evidence of Daulatpur¹¹⁷ and Osiā Inscriptions¹¹⁸, included Mewār. Nāgabhaṭa I, the ancestor of Vatsarāja, is credited in the Gwālior Prasasti¹¹⁹ to have crushed the large of army of the Mlechhas, that is, probably the Arabs. In this task, he was a partner of the coalition of powers including the Guhilas. The Hansot grant¹²⁰ (V.S. 813 i.e. A.D. 756) indicates the recognition of Nāgabhaṭa's authority in some parts of Gujrat. In course of his military resistance offered against the Arabs, he might have laid the foundation of his political authority in Mālwa and parts of Rājputānā that he bequeathed to his successors. Vatsarāja seems to have succeeded to the position of Nāgabhaṭa I in Mālwa and Rājputānā, because there is no record to suggest Vatsarāja's military exploits that might have led to the foundation of the

117. E.I. V, p. 208.

118. ASI, WC, 1908-09. p. 108.

119. E.I. XVIII, p. 112.

120. E.I. XII, p. 202.

Pratihāra authority in Gurjaratrā. Again, in the Gwālior stone Inscription¹²¹, there is hardly any mention of Nāgabhaṭa II's fresh conquests in Rājputānā except a passing reference to his military success against the Matsyas, inhabitants of eastern Rājputānā (i.e. Jaipur region). The Guhilas of Mewār might have owed allegiance to the Pratihāras from the time of Mihira Bhoja (836-885 A.D.) when their imperial authority had been established in Northern India with their capital at Kanauj, till the break-up of the Pratihāra empire in the fourth decade of the tenth century A.D. It appears that Khummāna II, Mahāyaka and Khummāna III of the Guhila line of Mewār had to acknowledge the political supremacy of the Pratihāras. But Bhartripaṭṭa II who assumed the epithet Mahārājādhirāja in the first-half of the tenth century A.D. asserted his independent status taking an opportunity of the disintegration of the Pratihāra empire. There is, however, no direct evidence to suggest that the Guhilas of Mewār ever served as feudatories under the Pratihāras.

121. E.I. I, p. 154.

Chitrakūṭa Bhūpāla Harsha

It is learnt from the Benares Grant¹²² (K.E. 793) of the Kalachuri prince Karna that Kokkāla I, the earliest known prince of the Kalachuri dynasty, granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, Śrī Harsha, king of Chitrakūṭa, and the king Śaṅkaragaṇa. Chitrakūṭa of the Benares Grant has been located by some in Bundelkhand, while Harsha is held to be a prince of the Chandella dynasty. It has been pointed out by G.C. Raychaudhuri¹²³ that Chitrakūṭa in Bundelkhand was never a military outpost or political centre and therefore, it should be located at Chitor in Rājputānā. Harsha is identical with Harsharāja of the Chātsu Inscription¹²⁴ of Bālāditya who rendered valuable military service as a feudatory to his overlord Pratihāra Bhoja I. The description of Harsha as Chitrakūṭa bhūpāla has been reasonably explained by G.C. Raychaudhuri¹²⁵ to suggest that Guhila Harsha acted as a governor of

122. E.I. II, p. 306.

123. HM. p. 37.

124. E.I. XII, p. 10.

125. HM. p. 38.

Chitor under the overlordship of Bhoja. Kokkāla appears to have granted Bhoja and his feudatories 'freedom from fear', which indicates that he gave an assurance not to lead any further campaigns against his adversaries.

Kokkāla was, the father-in-law of Rāshṭra-kūṭa Kṛishṇa II (878-912 A.D.) and his elder contemporary, flourished in the 2nd half of the 9th century A.D. But the Khājuraho Inscription¹²⁶ tells us that Chandella Harsha placed Kshitipāla again on the throne. Kshitipāla is identified with Pratihāra Mahipāla (A.D. 908-940) Chandella Harsha could not be, therefore, a contemporary of Kalachuri Kokkāla.

Chitrakūṭa - bhūpāla, apparently suggests that Guhila Harsha of the Chātsu line was the king of Chitor. As a feudatory he might have been in command and control of Chitor, although for all practical purposes it was under the sovereign authority of Pratihāra Bhoja. But the Pratihāra occupation in Chitor did not last for long. We come to know from the Deoli¹²⁷ and Karhad Copper Plate Inscription¹²⁸

126. Line 10, E.I. I, p. 122.

127. Verse 25, E.I. V, p. 194.

128. Verse 30, E.I. IV, p. 284.

that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939-967 A.D.) snatched away from the Pratihāras the forts of Kālanjara and Chitrakūṭa and that the hopes of regaining the strong-hold of Chitor vanished from the hearts of the Pratihāra rulers. (Dakṣiṇādī durgavijayam ākarna galitā Gurjara hridayāt Kālanjara Chitrakūṭāsā).

After Mahipāla's reign it was no longer possible for his weak successors to check the disintegration of the Pratihāra empire that had already set in. The weakness of the central authority gave an opportunity to the Guhilas to rise as an independent power. The fall of Chitor seems to have marked the end of the Pratihāra power in Mewār. After the middle of the 10th century A.D., we can no longer associate the Pratihāras with any part of Mewār.

Chapter - V

Guhila rule in Āghāṭa

In the middle of the 10th century A.D., the capital of the Guhilas was probably transferred from Nāgahrada (Nāgdā) to Āghāṭa (Āhār). The Āhār Sārneśvara Temple Inscription of Allāṭa¹ (A.D. 953) yields the information that Āghāṭa, a centre of trade and commerce, attracted the merchants from different parts of the country. Āghāṭa might have grown as a mercantile city of importance from the time of Bharṭṛipatṭa II and reached the final stage of development during the time of Allāṭa. The Guhilas might have considered Āghāṭa, located ^{at} the junction of trade-routes running between Gujṛāt and Delhi², more suitable than Nāgahrada to be their capital. By the transfer of their capital, the Guhilas seem to have attempted to keep the seat of their power and authority in a more well-guarded secure position,

1. I.A. LVIII. p. 161 ; Bhāv. Ing. p. 67.

2. Cf. Somani, R.V. , op.cit. p. 7.

as Nāgdā had been located in a more vulnerable position from military point of view.

The Āhār Inscription (A.D. 943)³ of Bhartripaṭṭa II, the predecessor of Allaṭa, was found at Āhār itself. The records of Allaṭa's immediate successors⁴ were also discovered from Āhār. The epithet Āghāṭapati⁵ is found to be associated with the name of the Guhila king Ambāprasāda in the Prithvirājaviṇaya. It appears that the capital was shifted sometime before the time of Ambāprasāda. If the discovery of a Guhila record is taken to be an indication, Bhartripaṭṭa II's reign most probably witnessed the transfer of capital.

Bhartripaṭṭa II

Bhartripaṭṭa II (A.D. 943) for the first time assumed the title Mahārājādhirāja by disavowing

3. RMR. 1914, p. 2.

4. 'Āhār Ins. of Naravāhana' - RMR, 1914 p. 2.

'Āṭpur Ins. of Śaktikumāra' - I.A. XXXIX, p. 191
vide, ASI, WC, 1906, p.62 ; HR. II, pp.434 and 437.

'Āhār Ins. of Ambāprasāda' - RMR 1914 p. 2.

'Āhār Hastanāṭa Temple Ins. of Suchivarman' -
Bhāv. Ins. p. 72.

5. Prithvirājaviṇaya, verses 59-60.

the allegiance to the Pratihāras. The Partābgarh Inscription⁶ of Pratihāra Mahendrapāla II (946 A.D.) records that Mahārājādhirāja Bhartripaṭṭa granted in perpetuity a field named Vavvulika or Babbulika situated by the side of the river Nandyā in the village of Palāśa-Kūpikā that is, Parasiā, located about 15 miles south of Māndāsor. The transfer of the capital, no doubt, suggests the growing power of the Guhilas in the time of Bhartripaṭṭa II, who is known from the Ātpur Inscription (A.D. 977), as an unique ornament of the three worlds (Lokatravakā-tilaka)⁷.

Relation with the Rāshtrakūṭas

The Ātpur Inscription furnishes the information that Bhartripaṭṭa II married Mahālakṣmī, the Rāshtrakūṭa princess⁸. It is difficult to identify the father of Mahālakṣmī as his name is not recorded in the Ātpur Inscription, nor in the epigraphic

6. E.I. XIV, p. 177.

7. Verse 3, 'Ātpur Inscription' (A.D. 977) - I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

8. Verse 4, 'Ātpur Inscription' (A.D. 977) - I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

records of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The name of Mahālakṣmī is also absent in the epigraphic records of the Rāshtrakūṭas as well as in those of the contemporary dynasties. A branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas were ruling in Gujrāt (the Lāṭa branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas) lying not far from Mewār. But this branch seems to have come to an end in A.D. 888. Because, Kṛishnarāja of this branch is known to have been on the throne till at least A.D. 888, but no successor of him is so far known⁹. It is more probable that Mahālakṣmī was the daughter of Amoghavarsha III (936-939 A.D.), ruler of Mānyakheta (Malkhed) and sister of Kṛishṇa III. Amoghavarsha ascended the throne at the age of 50 and ruled only for three years. During his short reign of three years, the government was entirely carried on by his able and ambitious son Kṛishṇa III (939-967 A.D.). After the death of Amoghavarsha III, he ascended the throne in A.D. 939. It appears on chronological grounds that when Bhartripaṭṭa II entered into matrimonial alliance with the Rāshtrakūṭas, Kṛishṇa III was still a crown-prince. That Kṛishṇa III had in his mind Kālanjara

9. Mazumdar, R.C. (ed.), The Age of Imperial Kanauj, Bombay, 1964, p. 12.

and Chitrakūṭa as the future target of the military campaign in the North is attested by the evidences of Deoli¹⁰ and Karhad plates¹¹. Matrimonial alliance seems to have been concluded between the Guhilas and the Rāshtrakūṭas to form a power-bloc against the Pratihāras. When Kṛishṇa III invaded Northern India, his contemporary Pratihāra king was Mahipāla. We may reasonably assume that the disintegration of the Pratihāra empire was the result of the joint efforts of the Guhilas and the Rāshtrakūṭas. In their struggle against the Pratihāras, both the Guhilas and the Rāshtrakūṭas benefitted. The Rāshtrakūṭas fulfilled their long cherished desire to establish their dominance in North Indian politics, while the Guhilas achieved an independent status by completely disavowing even nominal allegiance to the Pratihāras.

Allaṭa

Bhartripaṭṭa II was succeeded by his son Allaṭa sometime in 953 A.D. The mother of Allaṭa was

10. E.I. V, p. 190.

11. E.I. IV, p. 284.

Mahālakṣmī of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. Allāṭa is traditionally known as Ālu-Rāwāl¹².

Relation with the Huṇas : The Ātpur Inscription¹³

of Śāktikumāra (A.D. 977) furnishes us with the information that Allāṭa's queen was Hariyādevī.

The Gaonri Copper plate Inscription¹⁴ of Vākpati Munja (A.D. 981) yields the information that Allāṭa's consort Hariyādevī was a Hūṇa princess. It is difficult to identify the father of Hariyādevī of the Hūṇa lineage. Hūṇa Mandala, as suggested by D.C. Ganguly¹⁵, was situated to the north-west of Mālwa. Because, the evidence furnished by Padmagupta's Navasāhaśāṅkhacharita and some of the Paramāra Inscriptions indicate that the Hūṇa principality was not far from the Paramāra kingdom¹⁶. Gaonri, the findspot of the copper-plates of Vākpati II, which

12. Sharma, D., Rajasthan through the Ages, Vol. I, Bikaner, 1966, p. 245.

13. I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

14. E.I. XXIII, p. 102.

15. Ganguly, D.C., History of the Paramāra Dynasty, Dacca, 1933, pp. 40-52.

16. Bhatia, P., The Paramāras, New Delhi, 1970, p. 39.

refer to the village Vanikagrāma existing in the Hūṇa-Mandala, was not far from Indore. Grant C of the Gaonri Plates also refers to the territory in the region between Indore and Mhow¹⁷. The Paramāra contemporary of Allata was Harsha - Siyaka or Siyaka II, whose date is known from the Hārsolā Copper Plate Grant (A.D. 949)¹⁸.

After the decline of the Pratihāras, the Paramāras in Mālwa gradually grew so powerful as to threaten the Guhilas. It was during the reign of Vākpati Munja, sometime in 974-975 A.D. or sometime later that the Paramāra authority in Mewār was consolidated. However, Allata seems to have been apprehensive of the growing power of the Paramāras in his own time. He probably entered into matrimonial alliance with the Hūṇas to check the expansionist move of the Paramāras.

The relations between the Hūṇas and the Paramāras were not friendly. According to the Navasāhasāṅkhacharita¹⁹, Siyaka II (alias Harsha)

17. E.I. XXIII, pp. 101-103.

18. E.I. XIX, p. 236.

19. Navasāhasāṅkhacharita, X, p. 160.

launched a campaign against the Hūṇas, slaughtered their princes and turned their harems into the dwelling place for the consecration of widowhood. The conflict between the Hūṇas and the Paramāras, that began during the reign of Siyaka II, continued till the time of Vākpati (alias Munja) and Sindhurāja. The Hūṇas fought for their existence not only against the Paramāras, but also other expansionist powers like the Chaulukyas, Rāshtrakūṭas and Kalachuris. Whatever that might be, the Guhilas might have attempted to strengthen their position by entering into matrimonial alliance with the Hūṇas who had been hostile to the Paramāras.

Allata and Devapāla

Pandit G.H. Ojha²⁰ refers to an unpublished, damaged fragmentary inscription in a small Jaina temple at Āhar near Udaipur, that records Devapāla's defeat and death in the hands of Allata. Ojha²¹ has identified Devapāla with the Pratihāra ruler of that name. Barnett²² opines that this identification is

20. URI, I, p. 124.

21. Ibid.

22. Cf. DHNI. II, p. 1170 fn. 2.

possible but not very probable. Bhandarkar²³ is of opinion that Devapāla is to be identified with Mahendrapāla II. It has been suggested by Dr. H.C. Ray²⁴ that though at present there is no definite evidence that the Pratihāra emperor Devapāla was killed, it is certain that he was not a very powerful prince, and like Rājyapāla, he may have also been killed in trying to put down internal foes who were often the feudatories of the Kanauj empire. If due importance is attached with the epigraph referred to by Ojha, it is most likely that Pratihāra Devapāla (A.D. 948-49) is the king mentioned in the record. By defeating and killing him, Allāṭa proved beyond doubt the growth of Guhila power in contrast with the declining the Pratihāra power.

Internal Administration

The Āhār Sārnesvara Temple Inscription²⁵

(A.D. 953) of Allāṭa refers to a group of state-

23. List of Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 400.

24. DHNI, II, p. 1170 fn. 2.

25. I.A. LVIII, p. 16 ; Bhāv. Ins. p. 67.

officials put in charge of different departments, such as Sāndhivigrahika Durlabharāja, Akshapāṭalika Mayura and Samudra, Vandipati Nāga, Bhishagarāja Rudrāditya, Pratihāra Yaśopushpa and Amātya Mammata. The record also furnishes us with the information that merchants from Karnāṭa, Madhyadeśa, Lāṭa and Takka visited Āghāṭa. Karnāṭa is to be identified with the Kāṇarese-speaking area in the Deccan, Madhyadeśa with Upper Ganges valley, Lāṭa with southern Gujrat and Takka with the Punjab. The inscription further refers to the circulation of coins such as Rupaka, ḍamma and ḍammardhaviṃśaka (1/40th of the ḍamma) in the local market.

Vallaka (alias Allata)

The Unawas Inscription²⁶ (A.D. 959), recently published by R.C. Agarwal, mentions the name of king Vallaka, who is stated to be the son of Mahālakṣmī. As Allata is known to be the son of Mahālakṣmī from the Ātpur Inscription (A.D. 977), he may be reasonably equated with Vallaka. That Vallaka was the

26. Somani, R.V., op.cit. pp. 52-53.

popular name of Allata is also known from the local tradition and Pradyumna Sūri's Samarāditya Saṁkshipata, a Jaina work²⁷. The Pipāli Inscription (948 A.D.), which is now preserved in the Pratāp Museum, Udaipur, refers Vallaka's reign. The Ambikā Temple Inscription of Jagat²⁸ (A.D. 960) suggests that Samvapura was the son of Vallaka. Samvapura, however, is not mentioned as the son of Allata in any epigraphic record. Naravāhana was the son and successor of Allata. Among other sons of Allata, mention is made of Gundala, Sodhaka, Siddha and Siluka²⁹. Again, the Kadmal Plates refer to Mahipāla as the son of Allata³⁰.

Naravāhana

We have an inscription of Naravāhana (A.D. 971) discovered in the temple of Ekalinga³¹, 12 miles north

27. Ibid.

28. Agarwal, R.C., Arts Asiatiques, 1964, p. 43 ;
Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda,
XIV, No. I.

29. I.A. LVIII, p. 161 ; Bhāv. Ins. p. 67.

30. 'Kadmal Plates' (A.D. 1083) - E.I. XXXI, p. 237.

31. Bhāv. Ins. p. 69.

of Udaipur. There are 18 lines in the Ekalinga Inscription of Naravāhana. Nothing can be made out from the first four lines and in line 5 we find the name of Bāppā, who is described as 'a moon among the princes of the Guhila family' and 'a jewel on the earth'. In line 7, it is said that some king had a wife, like a mine of diamonds, whose son was king Naravāhana. In the 9th line, it is recorded that he sought protection of Śaṅkara, Lord of Pārvatī, daughter of Giri, who favoured Bhṛigu Kachha. In the 13th line occurs the name of Ekalingaji who is to be worshipped. It has been pointed out by G.C. Roy Chaudhuri³² that this epigraph is of special interest as it contains the earliest reference to the god Ekalinga, the patron-deity of the royal house of Mewār.

Chāhanāna Alliance

Naravāhana married the daughter of a Chāhanāna named Jejaya³³. The name of Jejaya has not yet

32. HM. p. 42.

33. Verses 7-8, 'Ātpur Inscription', I.A. XXXIX, p.191.

been traced in the genealogical list of the Chāhamānas. Jejaya, however, might have been one of the members of the Chāhamāna branch of Sākan-bharī. It appears that ^{the} name was forsaken by the Chāhamāna ruler concerned after his accession to the throne. The matrimonial alliance between the Guhilas and the Chāhamānas is for instance of diplomatic move in the face of the steady growth of the Paramāra power in Central India.

Estimate of Naravāhana

The Ātpur Inscription³⁴ informs us that Naravāhana was not only 'the destroyer of enemies and forbear of Kshatriyas but also as the support of all arts and abode of knowledge'. It is evident from the Ekalinga Inscription³⁵ of Naravāhana (A.D. 971) that a great debate was held in the court of Naravāhana. The participants were the Jainas, Śaivas and Buddhists. The Śaivas are said to have come out victorious. The inscription also throws light on the existence of the Pāsūpata sect and

34. Verse 6, I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

35. Bhāv. Ins. p. 69.

manifold activities of the Pāsūpata Yogis. Ojha has noticed in an unpublished Āhār Inscription mention of the name of Naravāhana's Aksapaṭaladhisa Śrīpati, son of Mayura, who held the same post in the previous reign³⁶. Two important poets namely Amra and Yogarāj also flourished in Mewār in this period³⁷.

Śālivāhana

Śālivāhana succeeded Naravāhana. It has been suggested by Pandit Ojha³⁸ that the Guhilas of Kāthiāwār (Saurāṣṭra) were his descendants. According to him, the descendants of Śālivāhana ruling at Kheda later migrated to Kāthiāwār.

It is learnt from the Mongrol stone Inscription of Guhila Thakkura Mulaka (A.D. 1145), found in Junāgaḍh in South Kāthiāwār, that Sahajiga was responsible for the foundation of a Guhila line in Kāthiāwār. The question arises as to wherefrom

36. Cf. DHNI. II, p. 1172.

37. Somani, R.V., op.cit. p. 56.

38. URI. I. pp. 126-129.

Sahajiga hailed. Tradition has it that Sahajiga (Sejakji) was the grandson of Mahadāsa and after the killing of his grandfather in the hands of Siaji, grandson of Rāthor Jayachandra of Kanauj, he migrated to Saurāstra about V.S. 1250 i.e. A.D. 1193, and entered into the service of the Chaulukyas of Anahilawārā. Again, it has been claimed that Mahadāsa was the last prince of the Guhila line that had been ruling in Kheda on the bank of the Luni in Jodhpur. The Guhila rulers in Bhāvnagar, however, claimed their descent from Śālivāhana of Paithan³⁹.

G.H. Ojha⁴⁰ has put forward the suggestion that Śālivāhana of Paithan is to be identified with the king of that name belonging to the Guhila dynasty of Mewār. As we have only one Guhila king with the name Śālivāhana belonging to Nāgdā-Āhār line, it is but natural to connect the Guhilas of Khergaḍh and later of Bhāvnagar with him. But there are some chronological difficulties. As suggested by D.V. Bhatta⁴¹, Śālivāhana of Paithan ruled in

39. DHNI. II, pp. 1200-1202.

40. URI. I, pp. 126-129.

41. Bhāvnagar Kā Bālbodha Itihās pp. 5-10, Quoted by Ojha in URI, I, pp. 127-128.

V.S. 134, that is, about A.D. 77. But Śālivāhana, belonging to the Guhila line of Nāgda - Āhār, flourished sometime between 971 and 977 A.D. Śālivāhana has no record of his own. But the record of his predecessor Naravāhana is dated A.D. 971⁴² and that of his successor Śaktikumāra is dated A.D. 977⁴³. Besides, Śālivāhana is known to have succeed to the Guhila seat of authority at Āhār, which lay far away from Paithan. It may, therefore, be held that the Guhilas of much later period claiming their descent from Śālivāhana might have made a confusion in equating him with Śālivāhana of Indian tradition. This might have been caused by an attempt on their part to attach with the name of their ancestor remote antiquity and fame of Indian tradition.

We should again consider that Sahajiga made his migration from Kheda to Junāgarh towards the close of the 12th century A.D. A branch of the Guhilas of Mewār might have been reasonably founded by the ancestor of Mohadāsa, some 300 years back at

42. Bhāv. Ins. p. 69.

43. I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

Kheḍagarh in Jodhpur. In that case, Śālivāhana might be considered as the founder of a branch of Guhila line in Jodhpur, and the question of equating him with Śālivāhana of Paithan would not arise.

A coin of Śālivāhana has been discovered. It is made of silver-plated copper. The legend on this coin occurs is before the bust of the king. It reads Śrī Sa. Sa probably stands for Śālivāhana⁴⁴.

Śaktikumāra

Śaktikumāra is the last king of the Guhila line known from the Ātpur Inscription⁴⁵ (A.D. 977). Of the three inscriptions belonging to the reign of Śaktikumāra, the most important is the Ātpur Inscription. It opens with the date and records the erection of a temple of god Nanigasvami. Then we find the genealogy of the Guhila rulers from Guhadatta to Śaktikumāra. It is stated in the inscription that Śaktikumāra possessed three elements of power,

44. JNŚI. XX, pp. 26 ff.

45. I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

namely Prabhuśakti (majesty) Mantra Śakti (Counsel) and Utsāhasakti (energy). Śaktikumāra appears to have been the ruler of model type as envisaged in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and Kāmandaka's Nitisāra.

The next inscription of Śaktikumāra is the Āhār Stone Inscription⁴⁶. This inscription was noticed in the terrace of a Jaina temple at Āhār. It is now preserved in the Pratap Museum, Udaipur. It records the donation of 14 drāmas to the sun-god. It also refers to the name of Akṣapāṭalika Maṭṭaṭa.

The third epigraph is also found in another Jaina temple at Āhār near Udaipur. The inscription is damaged and fragmentary. It highly praises Śaktikumāra and mentions Maṭṭaṭa and Gundala, the two sons of Akṣapāṭalika Śrīpati, as the two arms of Śaktikumāra⁴⁷.

Guhilas and Ghajnivides

It is probably during the reign period of Śaktikumāra, sometime in the last quarter of the

46. DHNI. II, p. 1173.

47. ASI, MC., 1906, p. 62.

10th century A.D., that the Gajnivides invaded India. M.L. Mathur⁴⁸ suggests that Śaktikumāra joined Jaipāla against Sabuktigin, when the latter invaded India. This view is based on the evidence furnished by the Chitor Inscription⁴⁹ (V.S. 1331), where it is stated that Śaktikumāra annihilated the enemies of his religion. Firishtā⁵⁰ informs us that the rājās of Delhi, Ajmer, Kālanjara, Kanauj and many other neighbouring countries supplied contingents to help the Śāhī king Jaipāl. Sabuktigin came to power in A.D. 977⁵¹, and shortly after his accession, he undertook the scheme of conquest. The statement of Firishtā is significant enough to indicate that a confederacy of Indian rulers was formed to resist the foreign invasion. It has been suggested by D.C. Ganguly that if Firishtā's statement could be accepted as true, it would go a long way in absolving the Indian rulers of the charge commonly levelled against them that they could not unite even in the face of a common danger threatening the safety of their motherland⁵².

48. JIH. XXXII, pt. II p. 149.

49. Verse 46, Bhāv. Ins. p. 75; I.A. XXII, p. 80.

50. RMF, I. p. 11.

51. Majumdar, R.C. (ed.), The struggle for Empire, Bombay, 1979, p. 3.

52. Ibid. p. 4.

Firishtā⁵³ mentions three capital cities, those of the Tomaras, Chāhamānas and Chandellas, wherefrom troops were sent in the distress of Jaipāla. Jaipāla was none but the Śhāhī king of that name who ruled in Udabhāndapura. He probably ascended the throne in the last quarter of the 10th century A.D. and, therefore, was a contemporary of Guhila Śaktikumāra whose date is known from the Ātpur Inscription⁵⁴ (A.D. 977). A fragmentary stone Inscription⁵⁵ has been found on a hill, north of Barikot, in Upper Swat of the reign of paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Jayapāladeva. Although Firishtā has not made any specific mention of the Guhilas, they might have been covered by the expression "many other neighbouring countries". It appears that the Guhilas had not yet become so prominent in North Indian politics as the Tomaras. Chāhamānas and Chandellas were. That explains why the Guhilas do not find mention as one of the confederates against the Ghaznivides in Firishtā's account.

53. RMPI. I, p. 11.

54. I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

55. E.I. XXI, p. 301.

Paramāra Invasion of Mewār

The Bizāpur Inscription⁵⁶ of the time of Rāshtrakūṭa king Bālaprasāda of Hastikundi (A.D. 996) informs us that he gave shelter to the armies of a king (whose name is lost) and of the lord of the Gurjaras, when Munjarāja had destroyed Āghāṭa, the pride of Medapāṭa, and caused them to flee. The original verse in the inscription is as follows :-

Bhanktaghatang ghatabhīh Prakatamiba madang Medapāṭe
bhatānang.

Jalye Rājanyajalye Janayati Janatajang ranang
Munjarājye

As regards the identification of the Guhila king defeated by Munja, scholars are of divergent opinions. In this connection, we have to take into our consideration the chronology of Vākpati Munja's military campaigns in order to find out the possible date of his Mewār-expedition. Secondly, we have also to consider whether the dark period of the Guhila history is the period when the successors of

56. Verse 10, E.I. X, p. 20 ; Munja also captured Chitor and the surrounding areas N.P.P. III p.5.

Śaktikumāra ruled.

Now, if we keep in view the claims of conquest to the credit of Munja, we may reasonably hold that the Paramāra king overran Rājputānā to put his thrust against Gujrāt. But before that, he might have, for the sake of strategy, defeated the Kalachuri king Yuvarāja (975 A.D.) ruling in Dāhala Mandala, now located in the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh⁵⁷. It was quite reasonable, as the Paramāra king had his kingdom in Mālwa, now located in the western part of Madhyapradesh. The last part of his reign was spent in his struggle with the Chālukya king Taila II. Therefore, his expeditions to Rājputānā and Gujrāt are to be placed between the expeditions against the Kalachuris and the Chalukyas. It appears, therefore, that he did not undertake his expedition to Rājputānā immediately after his accession to the throne. Again, it is also apparent that in his Rājputānā - Gujrāt expedition, he first fell upon Mewār which was adjacent to Mālwa. We have

57. It is recorded in verse 15 of the Udaipur Prasasti that Vākpati II defeated Yuvarāja, slew his generals and held his sword on high at Tripuri .
E.I. I, p. 235.

to determine the date of his military contest with the Guhila prince in this background.

Next, it may be argued that Munja (974-995 A.D.) who ascended the throne in the 7th decade of the 10th century A.D. might have defeated Śālivāhana (974 A.D.) or Śaktikumāra (977 A.D.), as the two rulers were his contemporaries. But of these two rulers Śaktikumāra is considered in the light of available epigraphic evidence as one of the most powerful Guhila princes⁵⁸. In that case, it would not be unreasonable to hold that some successor of Śaktikumāra might be defeated by Munja and the said defeat resulted positively in the reduction of the power of the Guhilas. That Munja destroyed Āghāṭa is clearly stated in the Bijāpur Inscription⁵⁹ (A.D. 996). He seems to have held sway over the Guhila kingdom sometime before the date of the record. It was from the time of Ambāprasāda, the successor of Śaktikumāra, that the Guhilas definitely suffered

58. Śaktikumāra possessed three elements of power (Śaktitrāyorjitah, that is, Prabhuśakti, Mantraśakti and Utsāhaśakti - Ātpur Inscription (A.D. 977) I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

59. E.I. X, p. 20.

decline of power for seven or eight generations, as only one or two epigraphic records assignable to this period, have so far been discovered⁶⁰. On these considerations, it may be suggested that Vākpati II alias Munja achieved his success in Mewār either towards the end of the reign of Śaktikumāra, who had already enjoyed the major part of his reign with power and authority or during the reign of Ambāprasāda, who proved himself to be an ephemeral ruler of the Guhila dynasty.

Guhila - Chaulukya alliance

The Guhilas presumably had not obtained sufficient time to consolidate their position in Āghāṭa. They however, seem to have anticipated the thrust of Paramāra imperialism against Mewār and adopted measures for further strengthening themselves by contracting alliances with the Chaulukyas on the one hand and the Chāhamānas on the other.

60. 'Inscription of the time of Ambāprasāda', RMR, 1914 p. 2 ; 'Hastamāra Temple Inscription of Śūchivarman', Bhāv. Ins. p. 72.

The Bizāpur Stone Inscription makes it evident that the ruler of Āghāṭa shared with the Gurjara king the common fate of sustaining military defeat in the hands of the Paramāra ruler and took shelter at the same place. It appears that the Guhila king of Āghāṭa had entered into an alliance with the Gurjara king and made a common cause against the Paramāra invasion. It has been suggested by D.C. Ganguly⁶¹ and Dasaratha Sharma⁶² that the Gurjara ruler defeated by Vākpati II was the Chaulukya king Mularāja I (941-996 A.D.) of Gujrat. The suggestion is also put forward by Dr. Ganguly that Mularāja was for sometime deprived of his kingdom by the Paramāras. P. Bhatia⁶³ points out that in the 10th century A.D. the word 'Gurjara' was commonly used by the Gurjara - Pratihāras only. It was only in the 12th century A.D. that the Chaulukyas came to be known as Gurjaras, being the new master of Gurjaratrā. Therefore, Vijayapāla, the weak successor of Mahipāla of Kanauj, who ruled

61. Ganguly, D.C., op.cit. pp. 53-54.

62. Sharma, D. , op.cit. pp. 122-123.

63. Bhatia, P., The Paramāras, New Delhi, 1970, pp. 48-49.

between 959-989 A.D. was the Gurjara ally of the Guhila prince and adversary of Vākpati II⁶⁴. It has been further pointed out by Bhatia that Ujjain was under the occupation of the Gurjara - Pratihāras, as it is known from the Partābgarh Inscription of Pratihāra Mahendrapāla II⁶⁵ (A.D. 946), but it definitely came under the control of the paramāras sometime before 973 A.D. as Vākpati II issued land grants from Ujjain in 973 A.D. It is concluded by Bhatia that Vākpati II after defeating the Gurjara - Pratihāra ruler, occupied Ujjain⁶⁶.

A.K. Mazumdar⁶⁷ suggests that the Gurjara adversary of Vākpati II is identical with the Gurjara - Pratihāra ruler. But he does not mention the name of the Gurjara - Pratihāra king. He points out that the Gurjara king must have been killed in the battle field as the Bizāpur Inscription (996 A.D.)

64. Cf. Tripathi, R.S., History of Kanauj, Delhi, 1959, pp. 275-276.

65. E.I. XIV, pp. 177 ff.

66. I.A. VI, pp. 51-52.

67. Mazumdar, A.K., The Chaulukyas of Gujrat, Bombay, 1956, pp. 30-31.

uses the word the Vinaste for Gurjara (Gurjarese Vinaste). Mazumdar appears to have confused the meaning of the relevant line of the epigraph : (Pra)naste harinaiva bhiyā Gurjarese Vinaste⁶⁸. The purport is that the Gurjara ruler, out of fear, ran like a deer. Therefore, the question of Gurjara lord's death in the battle-field does not arise.

So far as the beginning of the Paramāra rule in Ujjayin is concerned, there is little evidence to suggest that Vākpati Munja conquered it from the Gurjara - Pratihāra lord. Because, Ujjain could not remain under the authority of the Pratihāras after Mahendrapāla II, when the Pratihāra empire had already disintegrated. Besides, the territory lying between Indore and Mhow was conquered from the Hūnas by Siyaka II (948-974 A.D.), who is known to have assumed the titles, Mahārājādhirājapati and Mahāmān-dalikachudāmani⁶⁹. Ujjayin did not lie at such a distance from Indore as to escape the aggressive designs of Paramāra Siyaka. It would be more reasonable

68. Verse 10, E.I. X, p. 20.

69. E.I. XIX, p. 242.

to hold that Ujjain came under the control of the Paramāras most probably during the reign period of Siyaka II and not in the time of Vākpati.

The Gurjara king, referred to in the Bizāpur inscription, was none but the contemporary Chaulukya king Mularāja I (941-996 A.D.) of Gujrāt. It was realised by him that Mewār in the hands of the Paramāras would prove to be a dagger thrust into the heart of Gujrāt. So, by extending military help and co-operation, Mularāja I might have intended to win over the Guhilas to his own side and thus resist the expansion of the Paramāras. The identification of the Gurjara king with the Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj appears to be far-fetched.

A coin of Śaktikumāra was discovered⁷⁰. The coin is of silver-plated copper. Only the legend before the bust of the king is Śrī Sa. Sa. it is suggested, stands for Śaktikumāra. With Śaktikumāra, the line of early Guhila kings of Mewār known from the Ātpur Inscription (977 A.D.) came to an end.

70. JNSI. XX, pp. 26 ff.

Reconstruction of the line of later Guhila rulers

The genealogical and succession list of Guhila rulers after Śaktikumāra may be gleaned in the light of the Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1331), the Mount Ābu inscription (V.S. 1342), the Rānpur the inscription (V.S. 1496) and Kumbhalgarh inscription (V.S. 1517).

<u>Chitor Ins.</u>	<u>Mount Ābu Ins.</u>	<u>Rānpur Ins.</u>	<u>Kumbhalgarh Ins.</u>
21. Amrāprasāda	.....	.....	Ambāprasāda
22. Śuchivarmā	Śuchivarman	Śuchivarman	.....
23. Naravarmā	Naravarman	.....	Nṛivarmā
24. ....	.....	.....	Anantavarmā
25.	Kirtivarman	Kirtivarman	Yasovarmā
26. ....	.....	Yogarāja	Yogarāja
27.	Vairāṭa	Vairāṭa	Vairāṭa
28. ....	.....	Vaṁśapāla	Haṁsapāla
29.	Vairisimha	Vairisimha	Vairisimha
30.	Vijayasimha	Virasimha	.....
31.	Arisimha	Arisimha	Arisimha
32.	Choḍa	Choḍasimha	Choḍasimha

<u>Chitor Ins.</u>	<u>Mount Abu Ins.</u>	<u>Rānpur Ins.</u>	<u>Kumbhalgarh Ins.</u>
33.	Vikrama simha	Vikrama simha	Vikramasimha
34. ....	.....	Raṇasimha	Raṇasimha
35.	Kshema simha	Kshema simha	Kshemasimha
36.	Sāmanṭa simha	Sāmanṭa simha	Sāmanṭasimha
37.	Kumāra simha	Kumāra simha	Kumārasimha
38.	Mathana simha	Mathana simha	Mathanasimha
39.	Padmasimha	Padmasimha	Padmasimha
40.	Jaitrasimha	Jaitra simha	Jayasimha
41.	Tejasimha	Tejasimha	Tejasimha
42.	Samara simha	Samara simha	Samarasimha
43.	(End of the line)	Bhuvana simha (The line continues)	Ratanasimha (The line con- tinues)

The succession list as well as genealogical list and the chronology of the later Guhila rulers given in any one of epigraphic records appears to be incomplete. Because, we find the omission of the names of some rulers in every epigraphic record. The gaps in one record however, may be filled in with the help of other epigraphic records. For example, in the Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1331) only the names of the Guhila kings No. 21, 22 and 23 are found and a long list of rulers from No. 24 is missing. Similarly, in the Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342) No. 21, 24, 26, 28, 34 are not found. In this epigraph, No. 43 is also absent, as the epigraph belongs to No. 42, that is, Samarasimha, who is the last king known from the record. The Mount Ābu Inscription fills some gaps of the Chitor inscription. In the Rānpur Inscription (V.S. 1496) No. 21, 23 and 24 are only omitted and the name of Bhuvanasiṃha (No. 43) appears after that of Samarasimha who is described as the son of Bāppā and conqueror of Alāuddin Khalji. The Kumbhalgarh Inscription (1460 A.D.) omits only No. 22 and 30. Anantavarmā (Anantavarman), who is not mentioned in any other record, appears as the ruler No. 24 in the Kumbhalgarh Inscription as

the successor of Nṛivarmā or Naravarman. Kīrti-varman (No. 25) of the Mount Ābu and the Rānpur Inscription is probably the same as Yaśovarmā (No. 25) or Yaśovarman of the Kumbhalgarh Inscription, as Kīrti and Yaśo are synonymous. Vijayasīmha (No. 30) of the Mount Ābu Inscription appears to be the same as Vīrasīmha (No. 30) of the Rānpur Inscription. In the Kumbhalgarh Inscription, this name is absent, but it is stated that he is a narendra, out of 20 sons of vairisīmha. King Jaltrasīmha (No. 40) of the Mount Ābu and Rānpur Inscriptions may be reasonably equated with Jayasīmha (No. 40) of the Kumbhalgarh Inscription. In the Kumbhalgarh Inscription, Samarasīmha is succeeded by his son Ratanasīmha. But Bhuvanasiṃha is found to be the successor of Samarasīmha in the Rānpur Inscription. Vaṃśapāla (No. 28) of the Rānpur Inscription is, no doubt, Haṃsapāla (No. 28) of the Kumbhalgarh Inscription. Of all the above mentioned records, the Kumbhalgarh inscription, in spite of two omissions, seems to have provided us with a fuller and more dependable list of Guhila rulers.

Ambāprasāda

Śaktikumāra was succeeded by his son Ambāprasāda according to the Kumbhalgarh Inscription⁷¹ (1460 A.D.). In the Chitor Inscription⁷² (V.S. 1331) we find the name of Amrāprasāda instead of Ambāprasāda. Ambāprasāda might have been known also as Amrāprasāda. The Mount Abu Inscription⁷³ (V.S. 1342) and the Rānpur Inscription⁷⁴ (V.S. 1496) place Śuchivarman⁷⁵ immediately after Śaktikumāra. It appears that in these two records the name of Ambāprasāda has been missed or omitted. An undated inscription of Ambāprasāda was found at Āhār⁷⁶. The inscription records that the queen of Ambāprasāda came of the Chaulukya family. Ambāprasāda seems to have entered into matrimonial alliance with

71. Verses 141-142, 3rd Slab, E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

72. Verse 49, Bhāv. Ins. p. 75.

73. I.A. XVI, p. 347.

74. Bhāv. Ins. p. 113.

75. Verse 23, I.A. XVI, p. 347 ; No. 12 of

'Rānpur Inscription', Bhāv. Ins. p. 113.

76. RMR, 1914 p. 2.

the Chaulukyas against his contemporary Chāhamāna Vākpatirāja of Sākambharī. But we have no evidence that the Chaulukyas were of any help to Ambāprasāda during his fight with the Chāhamāna ruler recorded in the Prithvirājaviṇaya⁷⁷. In the Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1331) Ambāprasāda is described as the destroyer of the Kshatriyas⁷⁸. The evidence of the Chitor Inscription clearly suggests that he came into conflict with the contemporary rulers. But it is difficult to assess the extent of his military achievement due to lack of substantial evidence.

No. dated record of the time of Ambāprasāda has yet been discovered. We may, however, make an inference from indirect source. The date of the Ātpur Inscription of Śaktikumāra (No. 20) is A.D. 977 and the date of the Kadmal Plates of Vijayasimha (No. 30) is A.D. 1083⁷⁹. The difference between these two dates is the period of (1083 - 977) = 106 years covered by nine generations.

77. Prithvirājaviṇaya, Verses 59-60.

78. Verse 50, Bhāv. Ins. p. 75.

79. E.I. XXXI, p. 237.

Allowing about 12 years for each reign on an average, Ambāprasāda's reign-period may be placed towards the close of the 8th decade of the 10th century A.D.

In the Prithvirājaviṇaya Ambāprasāda was designated as Āghāṭapati, that is lord of Āghāṭa or king of Āghāṭa or Āhār⁸⁰.

Chāhamāna Intervention

It was during the reign of Ambāprasāda that the Guhila power was threatened by the Chāhamāna ruler Vākpati of Sākambharī. The Prithvirājaviṇaya informs us that Sākambharī Chāhamāna Vākpatirāja sent Ambāprasāda, the lord of Āghāṭa, with his army to the abode of Yama⁸¹. The move of the Chāhamāna ruler threw a challenge to the authority of the suzerain at Dhārā, that is, the Paramāra ruler. A measure of retaliation was taken. Viryarāma, the son and successor of Vākpati, paid by his life the

80. Cf. DHNI. II, p. 1174.

81. Prithvirājaviṇaya, verses 59-60.

penalty for the offence of his predecessor. As it is stated in the Prithvirājavijaya, he met his doom at the hands of Bhoja, the Lord of Avanti.

Due to lack of epigraphic evidence at our disposal, we have to depend on the evidence furnished by the Prithvirājavijaya. The Chāhamānas attempted to take advantage of Ambāprasāda's weakness. The intervention of the Chāhamānas in Mewār was an open challenge to the Paramāras. Because, Paramāra Vākpati Munja had already established his political authority in Mewār. That explains why Viryarāma, the son and successor of Sākambharī Chāhamāna Vākpatirāja, met his death at the hands of Bhoja. The Paramāras were not prepared to suffer the loss of their political authority in Mewār.

Suchivarman

In the Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1331) we find the name of suchivarmā (or suchivarman) after Amrāprasāda, that is, Ambāprasāda. He is duly mentioned in the Mount Abu and Rānpur inscriptions.

The Kumbhalgarh Inscription⁸² (A.D. 1460) omits Śuchivarman and informs us that Ambāprasāda had three brothers, namely Nṛivarmā (Naravarman), Anantavarmā (Anantavarman) and Yaśovarmā, (Yaśovarman) who ruled one after another. But we can not ignore Śuchivarman mentioned in other records⁸³.

The Āhār Hastanāṭa Temple Inscription of Śuchivarman⁸⁴ tells us that he was the son of Śaktikumāra and brother of Ambāprasāda. We also come to know from this record that a temple of Rohilleśvara was constructed by him. For the reign of Śuchivarman, we have hardly any political event of importance recorded.

A coin of Śuchivarman is found⁸⁵. The coin is made of copper. The crown and the back of head are distinct. Before the king's face is engraved vertically sacha. The legend suchi stands for Śuchivarman.

82. Verses 141-142, 3rd Slab, E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

83. Verse 52, Bhāv. Ins. p. 75 ; verses 23-25, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

84. Bhāv. Ins. p. 72.

85. JNSI. XX, pp. 26 ff.

Naravarman, Anantavarman and Yaśovarman

After Śuchivarman (998-1010 A.D.), Naravarman, Anantavarman and Yaśovarman alias Kīrtivarman ruled in succession. The reign-period of these three princes may be approximately the period between A.D. 1010 and A.D. 1040. The period witnessed an unimpressive political status of the Guhilas.

Mahmud's Invasion

Sometime in the first-half of the 11th century A.D. Sultan Mahmud invaded India. According to Firishṭā⁸⁶, this invasion took place in 399 H., that is, A.D. 1008-1009. The rājās of Ujjain, Gwālior, Kālinjara, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer entered into a confederacy and advanced towards the Punjab with a vast army to help Śhāhī Ānandapāla. According to Pandit G.H. Ojha⁸⁷, Govindarāja, father of Vākpati, is credited by the Prabandhakosa with a victory over Sultan Mahmud of Ghajnā. The encounter took place

86. RMPI I, p. 26.

87. HR. I, p. 439.

sometime between 1010 and 1026 A.D. It has been suggested by some scholars⁸⁸ that the Guhilas of Chitor opposed Mahmud with all other powers but not prominently. But at that time the Guhilas were ruling not at Chitor but at Āghāṭa. They might have supplied contingent of troops, aids and weapons to the kings of Ujjain, Kanauj, ^{Ajmer} for their use against Mahmud. Therefore, in Firishtā's account the representation of the Guhilas is not recorded. The storm of Ghaznavide invasion might have touched Mewār lying midway between Ujjain and Ajmer. During the period of India's distress the Guhilas evidently did not stand as silent spectators. In defence of their motherland they might have stood against the foreign invasion. But they seem to have been more engaged in improving their position and status.

Yogarāja

Yasovarman alias Kīrtivarman was succeeded by Yogarāja (1040-1050 A.D.) who himself enjoyed royalty but whose progeny did not is known only from

88. Haig. Wolsely, Cambridge History of India

Vol. III Delhi, 1958, p. 507.

the Kumbhalgarh Inscription⁸⁹ (A.D. 1460). A.K. Vyas, the editor of the Kumbhalgarh Inscription, suggests that the text as visible on the slab, although partially damaged, clearly seems to be tach-chhagh (Kh) a n = 0 (Chhri (Chchhra) Yani gatā (II 20, 21) which clearly shows that the line of this prince was cut off from the throne due to some internal family-feud and the fortune finally fell on Vairata, one of the pregeny of Allata⁹⁰. As suggested by Pandit Ojha, the line of Yogarāja came to an end during his own life time⁹¹.

Vairata

The line of Śaktikumāra came to an end with Yogarāja, and Vairata, the descendant of Allata, belonging to the junior branch of the Guhilas, ascended the throne of Mewār. It has been suggested⁹²

89. Verse 143, Kumbhalgarh Inscription (1460 A.D.)
E.I. XXIV, pp. 324ff.

90. Tataścha Yogarājabhūmedapāte Mahipatih ||
api rājye sthite tasmin tachhākha nichhirayang gatā ||
paśchād Allata Samantāne Vairata - bhūn - nareś -
Varah || Tatah. Śrī Hamsapālascha vairisiṃha
Nripāgranih || HR. II, p. 443.

91. HR. II, p. 443.

92. Vyas. A.K. (ed.) 'Kadmal Plates' (V.S. 1140),
E.I. XXXI, p. 242.

that it was Paramāra Bhoja who deposed Yogarāja and appointed Vairāṭa as the ruler of Mewār. Though we have no direct evidence to support this contention, but the possibility of Bhoja's (A.D. 1010-1055) intervention in the internal affairs of Mewār can not be ruled out as he held sway over Mewār⁹³. It has been suggested by Naini⁹⁴ that Vairāṭa was the son of Yogarāja. But his view seems is not corroborated by the epigraphic records.

In the Kadmal plates (A.D. 1083) of Vijaya-simha, we find the name of Mahipāla as the son of Allāṭa⁹⁵. After Mahipāla, the Kadmal plates snaps the regular line of succession and brings in Vairāṭa who is said to be the 9th prince in chronological order from Allāṭa. The name of Vairāṭa appears in the genealogy occurring in all important records.

93. Verse 31, E.I. XXII, p. 288 , verses 25-26 and 34-35, E.I. XXIV, p. 307 and p. 318 ; Vivida Tirthakalpa p. 16.

94. Khyāṭa (Hindi Frans. by R. Dugada), p. 20.

95. Verse 6, 'Kadmal plates' (A.D. 1083) - E.I. XXXI, pp. 237 ff.

Let us compare the list of rulers, from Allāṭa to Vairāṭa, as found in the Kadmal plates with that of other records.

Allāṭa	
<u>Other records</u>	<u>Kadmal Plates</u>
(Senior Branch)	(Junior Branch)
1. Naravāhana.	1. Mahīpāla
2. Śālivāhana	
3. Śaktikumāra.	
4. Ambāprasāda.	
5. Śūchivarman.	
6. Naravarman.	
7. Anantavarman.	
8. Yośavarman alias Kīrtivarman.	
9. Yogarāja.	
10. Vairāṭa	

As the Kadmal Plates refer to Mahīpāla as the son of Allāṭa, Naravāhana and Mahīpāla seem to have been brothers. The former being the elder son succeeded to the throne of Mewār, while the latter

was probably granted a territory elsewhere. That might explain why the name of Mahīpāla is omitted from the genealogical list of other important records. But the inclusion of Mahīpāla in the main line and the omission of Naravāhana in the Kadmal Plates is difficult to understand, although, as suggested by the editor of the Kadmal Plates, it is not without significance.

Vairāṭa was the 10th prince after Allāṭa including Naravāhana of the main line, although the Kadmal Plates refers to him as the 9th including Mahīpāla, the younger brother of Naravāhana. The matter is solved by the Kumbhalgarh Inscription which does not include Śūchivarman in the list and makes Vairāṭa the 9th prince from Naravāhana. But we can not exclude Śūchivarman from the dynastic list of the Guhila rulers as Śūchivarman is mentioned in the Chitor, Mount Ābu and Rānpur Inscriptions.

It has been suggested by the editor of the Kadmal plates (A.D. 1083) that the position of Vairāṭa as the 9th with Mahīpāla, as mentioned in the grant, appears to reckon him implicitly in combination with Naravāhana and his successors of the senior

branch, while the corresponding rulers or princes of the junior branch headed by Mahipāla are conspicuous by their very absence. It is not known how many princes intervened between Mahipāla and Vairāṭa in the junior branch. The dates of Allāṭa and Śaktikumāra extend over a period of 24 years from A.D. 953 to A.D. 977 covering the reigns of 4 princes with the allocation of an average period of 6 years for each reign. Applying the same average of the remaining 8 princes upto Vairāṭa, the date of Vairāṭa may be fixed as V.S. 1082, that is, A.D. 1025. It is also pointed out that the date of the fragment of an old epigraph preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur is V.S. 1083, that is, A.D. 1026.

G.C. Roychaudhuri⁹⁶ has brought to our notice two inscriptions engraved on two pillars of the cenotaph of Rāvāt Bhīm Singh of Deoli at Jirān in Gwālior state dated A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1008 respectively, where it is stated that Vigrahapāla, born in the Guhilaputra family of Nāgahrada, held the title of Mahāsāmantādhipati⁹⁷, which is a clear proof that

96. HM. p. 43.

97. RMR. 1935-36, p. 2.

certain members of the Guhila family accepted a subordinate status under the suzerainty of some other power in the very beginning of the 11th century A.D. We find no Vigrahapāla in the genealogy of the Guhilaputras of Nāgahrada. It seems that Vigrahapāla was one of the members of Mahipāla-Vairāṭa line.

Position of Paramāra Bhoja in Chitor

Chitor formed a separate administrative unit and continued to be a dependency of Mālwa from the last quarter of the 10th century A.D. to the first-half of the 11th century A.D. It is stated in the Tirthakalpa of Jinaprabha Sūri that Bhoja was living in Chitor in 1031 A.D.⁹⁸ We also come to know from the Chirwā Inscription of Samarasimha⁹⁹ (V.S. 1330) that Bhoja built the temple of Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa in the fort of Chitor. It is

98. HM. p. 43.

99. Verse 31, E.I. XXII, p. 288.

stated in the Ujjain copper plate Inscription¹⁰⁰ (A.D. 1021) that a grant was made by the king in Nāgadraha-Paschima-Pathaka, which has been identified with Nāgdā in Mewār¹⁰¹. The Kumbhalgarh Inscription¹⁰² (1460 A.D.) refers to a lake called Bhojasāra and a temple Dhāreśvara near that city, which are the monuments bearing the testimony of Bhoja's influence in that territory.

A.K. Vyas, the editor of the Kumbhalgarh Inscription¹⁰³, opines that the lake Bhojasāra was constructed by Bhoja, an early Guhila chief. He hardly seems to be correct, as we have no evidence indicating the constructive genius of the Guhila prince Bhoja. On the otherhand, as Paramāra Bhoja had his authority recognised for a long time in Chitor, temples and lakes might reasonably have been constructed under his direct patronage.

Nāgadraha, referred to in the Ujjain Copper Plate Inscription¹⁰⁴ (A.D. 1021) has been identified

100. I.A. VI, pp. 53-54.

101. HM. p. 43 , I.A. VI, pp. 53-54.

102. Verses 25-26 and verses 34-35, E.I. XXIV, p. 304 and p. 317.

103. Ibid. pp. 304ff.

104. Ganguly D.C., op.cit. pp. 84-85.

by D.C. Ganguly with the locality around the stream Nāgajhāri near Ujjain. But the identification of Nāgadrāha with Nāgahrada or Nāgdā in Mewār is quite tenable.

It has been suggested by Nainsi¹⁰⁵ that Vairāṭa did not humble himself before the rulers of Gurjara and Dāhala. It is known that Paramāra Bhoja had to face a joint attack of Chaulukya Bhima I of Gujrāt and Kalachuri Karna, king of Dāhala¹⁰⁶. Mālwa lay bleeding from the injuries and the invaders decided to divide Mālwa among themselves¹⁰⁷. The aged Paramāra warrior, Rājā Bhoja, made preparation for sustaining a long siege; but he fell ill and died. The invaders attacked Dhārā with redoubled vigour and captured it. This event is to be assigned in A.D. 1055, as the first inscription of Bhoja's successor Jayasimha I was issued from Mandhata in Dhārā on the 13th of the

105. Khyāta (Hindi Trans. by R. Dugaḍa), p. 20.

106. DHNI. II, p. 869.

107. Prabandhachintāmoni, pp. 51-52.

dark-half of Āṣāḍha of V.S. 1112, that is, A.D. 1055¹⁰⁸. The tradition recorded by Nainṣi seems to imply that Vairāṭa witnessed the overthrow of Bhoja, the king of Mālwā, but did not submit to the victors¹⁰⁹.

There is no evidence to suggest that the immediate successors of Bhoja had any authority in the Guhila principality. There is no evidence at our disposal that after the death of Bhoja, ^{Mewār} passed under the control of Chaulukya Bhima I (1022-1064 A.D.). It is, therefore, not unlikely to hold that following the death of Bhoja, the Guhilas of Āghāṭa sought to recover their independence. There is, however, no evidence to indicate that Chitor that had been under the direct occupation of Bhoja could immediately be brought under the occupation of the Guhilas.

Date of Vairāṭa

A.K. Vyas' s suggestion regarding the date of

108. E.I. III, p. 46 ; cf. Bhatia, P. op.cit. p.93.

109. Cf. HM. p. 45.

Vairāṭa¹¹⁰, referred to above, is not beyond dispute. Basing on the date of Allāṭa (953 A.D.) and Śaktikumāra (977 A.D.), fourth in descent from him, and assigning for each reign an average period of six years he assigns 6 years on an average for each of the eight generations after Śaktikumāra. But the average reign-period of 6 years may not be applicable in all cases. On the basis of 6 years for each reign-period, Vyas fixes the date of Vairāṭa as V.S. 1082, that is, A.D. 1025-26. He further suggests that the fragmentary inscription of V.S. 1083 (A.D. 1026) which was lying in the Pratāp museum, Udaipur, belonged to Vairāṭa. There is hardly anything in the record to suggest that it was a record of the time of Vairāṭa. The names of the rulers in the epigraph are missing. The right-half portion of the inscription is damaged. In lines 5 and 6, the name of a ruler is mentioned, who used to give away gold in charity. His son was quiet powerful and unrivalled like Indra. As it is learnt from the Khyāta of Nainsi that Vairāṭa witnessed the overthrow of Bhoja, king of Mālwa¹¹¹,

110. 'Kadmal Plates', E.I. XXXI, p. 242.

111. HM. p. 45.

we may reasonably assign the reign of Vairāṭa between A.D. 1050-1060, which is quiet fitting in the chronological framework between A.D. 977, the date of Āṭpur Inscription of Śaktikumāra and A.D. 1083, the date of Kadmal Plates of Vijayasīmha.

A coin of Vairāṭa has been discovered¹¹². It is made of copper. Before the bust of the king the legend Śrī Vairat is inscribed. The second letter Ra is just as the edge of the coin and is not deeply impressed.

Haṁsapāla and Vairisīmha

Vairāṭa was succeeded by Haṁsapāla and the latter by Vairisīmha¹¹³ sometime between 1060-1083 A.D. The last date of Vairisīmha is suggested by the Kadmal plates dated A.D. 1083, belonging to his successor Vijayasīmha. We have no detailed information regarding Haṁsapāla and Vairisīmha. Haṁsapāla is mentioned as Vaṁśapāla in the Rānpur Inscription¹¹⁴ (V.S. 1496). The Bherāghāt

112. JNSI. XX, pp. 26 ff.

113. Verse 144, 'Kumbhalgarh Inscription' (1460 A.D.), E.I. XXIV, pp. 304 ff.

114. Bhāv. Ins. p. 113, No. 16.

Inscription¹¹⁵ of Alhanadevi (A.D. 1155) yields the information that Hāṁsapāla humbled the pride of his foes combined. Vairisīmha, it is stated in the inscription, displayed conspicuous gallantry while fighting with the enemies. It is difficult to identify the enemies of the Guhila princes. Tod¹¹⁶ suggests that Bersi, who is probably to be identified with Vairisīmha, killed the Ajmer ruler Durlabharāja, apparently the third Chāhamāna prince of that name. But we are told by the Prithvirāja-vijaya that Durlabharāja III had a tragic end while fighting with the mātaṅgas¹¹⁷. It is more probable that the enemies of the Guhilas were the Paramāras, led by either Jayasīmha I (1055-1060 A.D.) or Udayāditya (1060-1087 A.D.). It is evident from the Verses 144-145 of the Kumbhalgarh Inscription (1460 A.D.), that Vairisīmha erected a fresh rampart having four gates, facing all the four cardinal directions round Āghāṭa-Pattana. The original verse in the inscription¹¹⁸ is as follows :-

115. E.I. II, p. 12.

116. AR. I, p. 297.

117. Prithvirājavijaya, V. 68.

118. E.I. XXIV, p. 325.

Tatah Hamsapālascha Vairisimha Nripāgroni
Sthapitīyena Vinobayena Śrīmadāghātapattane
Prakarscha Chaturdikhung Chaturgapurabhūsthitah.

It is also stated in the next verses¹¹⁹ that he (Vairisimha) had twenty-two meritorious sons of whom one, a 'narendra' was the most virtuous. This 'narendra' is certainly identical with Vijaya-simha, who was one of the most important Guhila rulers and raised the status of the Guhila dynasty. The city of Āghāṭa, which had been destroyed by the Paramāra king Munja in the 7th decade of the 10th century A.D., was re-constructed and surrounded by walls on all the four sides in the time_{of} Vairisimha. This seems to suggest that Vairisimha was anxious to ensure the security and protection of his capital-city in view of the continuing aggressive designs of the contemporary political powers. The action of Vairisimha also implies his plan for asserting the independent status of the Guhilas.

We have a coin of Hamsapāla and two of Vairisimha¹²⁰. The coin of Hamsapāla is of silver

119. Verses 145-146, E.I. XXIV, p. 325.

120. JNSI. XX, pp. 26 ff.

plated - copper. It is suggested that some traces of silver are still retained on this coin inspite of so many years of circulation. The legend is Śrī Ha. The second letter Ha, artistically inscribed, taken to stand for Hamsapāla.

Of the two coins of Vairisīmha, the first is of copper. On this coin a part of the die is impressed. The bust of the king is not visible but Śrī Va is distinctly read. The upper part of śrī is found to be blurred. The second coin is the same type as the first one.

Vijayasīmha

The Bherāghāt Inscription of Alhaṇadevī¹²¹
(mother of Kalachuri Narasīmhaśrī) (A.D. 1155)
informs us that Vijayasīmha, successor of Vairisīmha, married Śhyāmaladevī, the daughter of Paramāra Udayāditya (1060-1087 A.D.) of Mālwa. Alhaṇadevī, the child of the union of Vijayasīmha and Śhyāmaladevī, was given to marriage with Kalachuri Gayākarna of Dāhala. By this matrimonial alliances friendly

121. E.I. II, p. 12, verses 21-23.

relations were established between the Paramāras of Mālwa and the Guhilas of Mewār. Later, friendly relations were established between the Guhilas and the Kalachuris by the marriage between Alhaṇa-devī and Gayākarna. The relevant information from the Bherāqhāt Inscription (1155 A.D.)¹²² may be shown in a table as follows :-

<u>Guhila</u>	
Hamsapāla	
Vairisimha	Paramāra Udayāditya (1060-1087 A.D.)
Vijayasimha (1083 A.D.)	= Alhaṇadevi Shyāmaladevi = Kalachuri Gayākarna (1151 A.D.)

The Kadmal plates (V.S. 1140; A.D. 1083) refer to Vijayasimha as Paramabhattāraka Mahārājā-dhirāja Paramesvara Māṇḍalika¹²³. These imperial titles suggest without doubt, his independent status.

Pandit G.H. Ojha¹²⁴ suggests that the Pāldi Inscription dated V.S. 1173 (A.D. 1116) belonged to

122. Ibid ; cf. DHNI. II, p. 1178.

123. Line 13, E.I. XXXI, pp. 241-242.

124. URI. I, pp. 141-142.

the reign of Vijayasimha. More reasonably, the record belongs to Arisimha, the successor of Vijayasimha, who is described in verses 7 and 8. Arisimha is the last king mentioned in the inscription¹²⁵. The editor of the Pāldi Inscription is justified in suggesting that the epigraph belonged to the reign of Arisimha.

Vijayasimha's accession took place at a time when the power of the Paramāras was on the decline and the Chaulukya power on the ascendancy. As pointed out rightly by G.C. Roy Choudhuri¹²⁶, the matrimonial alliances between the Guhilas and the Paramāras and between the Guhilas and Kalachuris suggest that Vijayasimha was afraid of a new danger arising in Gujrāt. It is to be noted that both the matrimonial alliances did not take place at the same time. Alhanadevi, the child of the union of Vijayasimha and Shyamaladevi was given in marriage with Dāhala Kalachuri Gōyākarna at a later period. In view of the threat from the rising power of the Chaulukyas, Vijayasimha first contracted matrimonial

125. E.I. XXX, p. 8.

126. HM. pp. 45-46.

alliance with the Paramāras. Vijayasīṃha might have later on felt the necessity for further strengthening his position by entering into alliance with the Kalachuris.

Chapter - VI

Return to Nāgahrada

The transfers of capital from Nāgahrada to Āghāṭa and again from Āghāṭa to Nāgahrada seem to have been of major political importance and, therefore, may be considered as marking separate chapters in the history of the Guhilas.

Vijayasimha

The Kadmal Plates (A.D. 1083) inform us that Vijayasimha donated the fifth part of the village Palli, embracing all its receipts to Unlachārya, son of the most respectable āchārya Sāhiya, resident of Nāgahrada and belonging to Mādhyandina school of Vātsa gotra. The gift was made for the advancement of spiritual welfare of himself and his parents. The grant was issued from Nāgdā, the capital city¹. Of course, the grant was usually issued by the rulers from their capital city.

1. Nāgadraha Rājadhānyam, Line 21, 'Kadmal Plates'

E.I. XXXI, pp. 244-245.

As for example, Dharmapāla, the king of the Pāla dynasty issued his Khalimpur Grant² from his capital at Pāṭaliputra. But there are also instances showing that the grant could also be issued from the cities other than the capital. For example, Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarupa issued the Nidhānpur Grant³ from Karṇasuvarṇa, which was not his capital. But in the Kadmal Plates, Nāgahrada is represented as the capital city.

Scholars have hardly attempted to explain why Vijayasimha brought back his capital to Nāgda from Āhār. It has been already pointed out that Āhār was the capital of the Guhilas till the time of Vairisimha, the predecessor of Vijayasimha. The former ruler surrounded the city with walls on four sides⁴, presumably as a measure of defence against probable invasions from outside. In spite of this, the Guhilas probably were apprehensive of the covetous eyes cast upon Āhār, a city of strategic and commercial importance⁵, by the Paramāras. That

2. E.I. IV, pp. 243ff.

3. E.I. XII, pp. 73ff.

4. Verse 145, 'Kumbhalgarh Inscription' (1460 A.D.),
E.I. XXIV, p. 325.

5. I.A. LVIII, p. 161.

explains why the Guhilas, on consideration of the vulnerability of the position of Āhār, shifted their capital from Āhār to Nāgdā in the time of Vijayasīmha.

Coin of Vijayasīmha

Vijayasīmha whose reign was marked by the transfer of capital has a coin to his credit⁶. The coin is of copper and weighs 34 ratīs. Before the bust of the king, Śrī Ve is inscribed. If we take the second letter to be Vi, this may be attributed to Vijayasīmha.

Successors of Vijayasīmha

Between Vijayasīmha and Sāmantasīmha, the infamous ruling princes of Mewār were Choḍasīmha, Vikramasīmha, Raṇasīmha and Kshemasīmha, who are known from the genealogical list given in the Rānpur Inscription⁷ (V.S. 1496). Of course, in the

6. JNSI. XX, pp. 26 ff.

7. Bhāv. Ins. p. 113.

same inscription we find in place of Vijayasīmha the name of Virasīmha. Actually, Virasīmha is identical with Vijayasīmha. The Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342) informs us that the successors of Vijayasīmha were Arisīmha, his son Choḍasīmha and his son Vikramasīmha. Next came Kshemasīmha and his son Sāmantasīmha⁸.

The Kumbhalgarh Inscription (1460 A.D.) yields the information that Vairisīmha had twenty-two sons, one of whom was most virtuous 'narendra'⁹. Unfortunately, we do not find in the record the name of this virtuous 'narendra' who succeeded his father Vairisīmha. Probably, this 'narendra' is identical with Vijayasīmha of the Mount Ābu Inscription¹⁰ (V.S. 1342) and Virasīmha of the Rānpur Inscription¹¹ (V.S. 1496). Because, in the former record Vijayasīmha is found to have come between

8. Verses 28-36, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

9. Verse 146, E.I. XXIV, p. 325.

10. Verse 28, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

11. No. 18, Bhāv. Ins. p. 113.

Vairisimha and Arisimha, which in the later record, Virasimha succeeds Vairisimha and is succeeded by Arisimha. Therefore, it would be reasonable for us to equate 'narendra' of the Kumbhalgarh Inscription with Vijayasimha. The Bherāghāt Inscription¹² of the Kalachuri samvat 907 (A.D. 1155) also records that Vijayasimha was the successor of Vairisimha. Next came Arisimha and Choḍasimha chronologically according to the Mount Ābu and Rānpur Inscriptions. The Kumbhalgarh Inscription records that Choḍasimha in turn was followed by his elder brother Vikramakeśarī (Vikramasimha) whose son was Raṇasimha¹³. In the Mount Ābu Inscription¹⁴, Vikramasimha is described as the son and successor of Choḍasimha and the name of the next successor Raṇasimha is absent ; the name of Kshemasimha appears in the Mount Ābu Inscription after Choḍasimha. But Raṇasimha is found to have succeeded Vikramasimha in the Rānpur and Kumbhalgarh Inscriptions. Raṇasimha is described as the son of Vikramasimha in the

12. E.I. II, p. 10 ; DHNI. II, p. 1178.

13. Verse 148, E.I. XXIV, p. 325.

14. Verse 32-33, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

Kumbhalgarh inscription where the next ruler is Kshemasimha, the predecessor of Samantasimha. The Rānpur Inscription also furnishes us with the same information. The discrepancies regarding the succession list of rulers, as found in the Guhila records, have raised intricate problems. We may, however, depend on the lists given in the Rānpur and Kumbhalgarh Inscriptions.

The date of Arisimha is A.D. 1116 known from the Pāldi Inscription¹⁵ and the date of Samantasimha is A.D. 1171 known from the Solaj Stone Inscription¹⁶. These two dates are separated by a period of 55 years covering five reigns. Assigning an average of 11 years duration for each reign, it may be assumed that Arisimha ruled between A.D. 1116 A.D. 1127, Chodasimha between A.D. 1127 and A.D. 1138, Vikramasimha between A.D. 1138 and A.D. 1149, Ranasimha between A.D. 1149 and A.D. 1160, Kshemasimha between A.D. 1160 and A.D. 1171.

15. E.I. XXX, p. 8.

16. RMR, 1915, p. 3.

Rāwāls and Rānās

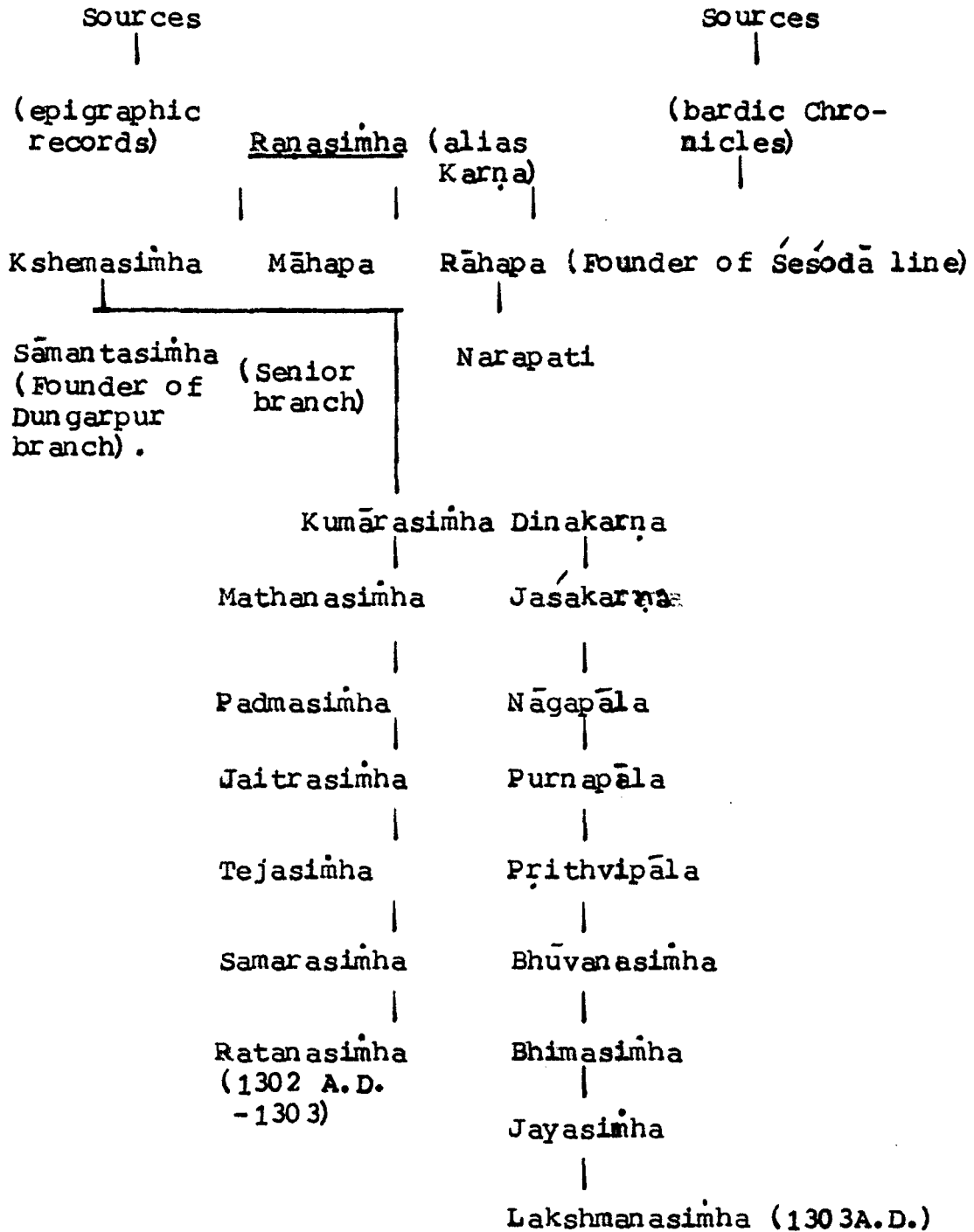
The Ekaliṅgamāhātmya, which was composed during the reign period of Rāṇā Kumbhā (approx A.D. 1433-A.D. 1468), furnishes the information that from the time of Karṇa (Karansingh), who is identified with Raṇasimha, the Guhilas were divided into two branches, namely Rāwāl; and Rāṇā¹⁷. The work also informs us that Karṇa's father was Śrī-Punjā, that is probably Vikramasimha¹⁸. So Raṇasimha became the progenitor of two lines. His elder son Kshemasimha became the ruler of Mewār with the title of 'Rāwāl'. To the line of Rāwāls belonged Jitasimha or Jaitrasimha, Samarasimha, Ratanasimha etc. The younger son Māhup of Māhapa was granted the Jālgir of Śesodā with the title of Rāṇā (Junior branch). Māhup appears to have been disinherited and succeeded by his brother Rāhup or Rāhapa, whose descendants came to be known as Śesodiās¹⁹. The lines of Rāwāls and Rānās, descended from Raṇasimha alias Karṇa or

17. The Ekaliṅgamāhātmya, verse 50 ; DHNI. II,
p. 1180 and p. 1204.

18. Ibid ; vide also URI. I, pp. 142-43.

19. UDG. p. 33.

Karansimha may be shown in the following table²⁰.



20. Khyāta I pp. 18-19; DHNI. II, pp. 1204-1205 and
pp. 1207-1208.

In the table given above, it is shown that Kshemasimha, Samantasimha, Kumārasimha, Mathanasimha, Padmasimha, Jaitrasimha, Tejasimha, Samarasimha and Ratanasimha belonged to the line of Rāwāls. Again, Samantasimha of the Rāwāl line was the founder of another line that ruled in Dungarpur. The princes from Rāhapa to Lakshmanasimha belonged to the line of Rāṇās. Hāmmira (1326-64 A.D.) is said to have belonged to this line.

However, the reign-period (A.D. 1116-1171) of Vijayasimha's successors preceding Samantasimha witnessed a major set-back of the Guhila power on account of the continued Paramāra - Chaulukya struggle for supremacy in a considerable part of Rājputānā.

Paramāras in Chitor

From the epigraphic and literary evidence it is learnt that Paramāra Naravarman (A.D. 1094-1133) had his sway in Chitor. Mention may be made of the Kharataragachcha Brihad Gurvāvalī in this connection. Naravarman granted to Jinavallabha Sūri

two pāruttha drammas daily from the Custom-house of Chitor for the daily worship of a certain Jaina temple²¹. This is also mentioned in an unpublished inscription of Śaka saṃvat 1028 i.e. A.D. 1106²², discovered from Chitor. Chitor continued to remain included in the dominions of Mālwa during Yaśovarman's reign in 1133 A.D. It is said that in A.D. 1136, Chaulukya Jayasīṃha Siddharāja defeated Yaśovarman and annexed Chitor²³. It appears from the chronological position of the Guhila rulers that Arisīṃha had to bear the brunt of the Paramāra invasion, while Choḍasīṃha had to suffer a lot under the dominance of both the Paramāras and the Chaulukyas. Because, the dominance in Chitor of either the Paramāras or the Chaulukyas was destined to have an impact in Mewār.

21. Kharataragachchha Bṛihadgurvāvali ed. Muni

Jinavijaya, Bombay, 1956, p. 13.

22. Somani, R.V., Virabhumi Chitor, pp. 26-27.

23. E.I. I, p. 297.

Impact of Chāulukya annexation of Chitor

Chitor was situated about more than 100 km. to the north-east of Nāgdā-Āhār where from the Guhilas were ruling. Chitor probably formed a separate administrative unit, as it is learnt from the Kumbhalgarh Inscription (1460 A.D.). We are informed by the record that Jaitrasīṃha (1213-52 A.D.) governed four territorial divisions, viz. Chitrakūṭa, Āghāṭa, Medapāṭa and Vāgaḍa, with his capital at Nāgahrada²⁴. Medapāṭa may be equated with Nāgahrada and the adjoining areas. Again Medapāṭa in a broader sense included all the territorial divisions except vāgaḍa. It may, therefore, be suggested that Chitrakūṭa or Chitor, having been annexed by the Chaulukyas, did not substantially affect the territorial possessions of the Guhila rulers. But the siege of Chitor by the Chaulukya ruler Jayasīṃha Siddharāja (A.D. 1094-1144) might pose a threat to the position of the Guhilas. That the Guhilas maintained their precarious existence during the rule of Vijayasīṃha's successors

24. Verses 153-155, E.I. XXIV, pp. 325ff.

is evident from their records where we find mention of their names only without any achievement to their credit.

Chaulukya - Paramāra Struggle in Mewār

It has been suggested by Dr. G.C. Roy-Chaudhuri²⁵ that the territories under the great Chaulukya king almost surrounded Mewār on all sides. The Chaulukya occupation in the regions around Mewār formed more an episode in the history of Chaulukya-Paramāra struggle for supremacy. The Paramāras rose to an imperial power towards the last quarter of the 10th century A.D., when Vākpati alias Munja commanded authority in a considerable part of Rājputānā including Mewār²⁶. The position of the Paramāras, as suggested by the available records, declined to some extent, but did not completely collapse till the time of Yasovarman (1133-1142 A.D.). The Chaulukyas of Gujrāt, who seem to have attained a powerful position with the accession of Siddharāja

25. HM. p. 47.

26. Verse 10 - Bizāpur Inscription (996 A.D.)

E.I. X, p. 20.

Jayasimha (1094-1144 A.D.), were determined, by every means at their disposal, to dislodge the Paramāras from their imperial position in Rājputānā²⁷.

The victory of Siddharāja is referred to in his own records. His proud epithet Avantinātha first appears in the Gala Inscription²⁸ (A.D. 1137). We are told by the Dohad Inscription that Siddharāja threw into prison the king of Mālava whose name is not mentioned²⁹. But the Talwārā Image Inscription³⁰ records that Siddharāja humbled the pride of Naravarman, who was no doubt his contemporary king. This is supported by an unpublished inscription which records that Siddharāja made himself glorious by destroying the power of Naravarman³¹ (A.D. 1094-1133).

27. E.I. I. p. 297.

28. Majumdar, A.K., The Chaulukyas of Gujrāt,
Bombay, 1956, p. 163.

29. Ibid.

30. RMR, 1915, p. 2.

31. Ganguly, D.C., History of the Paramāra Dynasty,
Dacca, 1933, p. 163.

Siddharāja's conquest in Mālava is again confirmed by the Ujjain Fragmentary stone Inscription³² (A.D. 1138). It is evident from the inscription that Siddharāja, having defeated Yaśovarman, held Avanti-mandala by force, and placed Mahodaya in charge of the government of that country. It appears, therefore, the Chaulukya - Paramāra hostilities continued from the time of Naravarman to that of Yaśovarman.

Siddharāja's inscriptions which come from Rājputānā are the Bhinmal Inscription³³ found at Bhinmal in Jodhpur ; the Talwārā Image Inscription³⁴ from Talwārā in Bānswārā state, southern Rājputānā, the Bāli stone Inscription³⁵ found at Bāli in Jodhpur and the Sāmbhar Stone Inscription³⁶ at Sāmbhar in Jaipur. From the provenance of the inscriptions it is evident that southern Rājputānā was under the authority of Siddharāja Jayasīma.

32. ASI, WC, 1921, pp. 54-55.

33. ASI, WC, 1907-08, p. 38.

34. RMR. 1915, p. 2.

35. E.I. XI, pp. 32-33.

36. I.A. LVIII, pp. 234-36.

As Mewār was located in southern Rājputānā, it may be reasonably assumed that some parts of the territories surrounding Mewār came under the authority of Siddharāja Jayasimha. Thus Paramāra power and authority in Rājputānā was replaced by that of the Chaulukyas.

Rājputānā presented a picture of political disunity, being divided into a number of petty independent states under different ruling dynasties like the Guhilas in Mewār, the Chāhamānas in Sākambharī and Ajmer, the Kachhapaghatas in Nārwar (Eastern Rājputānā). Besides, the Paramāras, belonging to collateral branches, ruled in Sirohi, Bānswārā, Jālor and Kirādu. In this background, the Paramāras of Mālwā and the Chaulukyas of Gujrāt were free to exploit the situation in Rājputānā to their credit. The Guhilas of Mewār had not yet become so powerful as to offer effective resistance to the imperial designs of such aggressive powers.

Imperial designs of the political powers might have been inspired by economic motives. The annexation of new territories could ensure the

supply of greater amount of land revenue to the state treasury. Again, the dominance over some trade-centres of importance might help to realise more and more financial resources. Āhār, being located in the heart of Mewār in southern Rājputānā, was in a position to link up the trade-routes running from Central India as far as the coast of the Arabian sea. It is evident from the records at our disposal that the city port of Āhār served as a clearing house of merchandise that might have been pouring in from northern, southern and eastern directions³⁷. It may, therefore, be held that the rivalry between the Paramāras and the Chaulukyas in Rājputānā was not only a political contest but also an economic or commercial competition.

Relation of the Guhilas with Chitor : A Resume

In the epigraphic records, Chitrakūṭa or the fort of Chitor has been attached with much importance³⁸. Chitor had been conquered, according

37. I.A. LVIII, p. 161; Bhāv. Ins. p. 69.

38. Verses 41-50, 'Kumbhalgarh Inscription',
1st slab (1460 A.D.), E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

to the tradition, by Bāppā³⁹. But in fact, it was not conquered by the Guhilas before the time of Jaitrasīma⁴⁰ (1213-52 A.D.). The question may be reasonably raised why the Guhilas in Mewār had to wait till the beginning of the 13th century for the conquest of Chitor, the fort of immense strategic importance. The explanation is not far to seek. The political powers like the Moris, Pratihāras, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Paramāras and Chaulukyas, by turn, included Chitor in their territorial possession. The Guhilas, therefore, hardly found an opportunity to extend their authority over Chitor.

From the Chitorgarh Mānasarovar Inscription⁴¹ (A.D. 713), it is known that Māna Mori was ruling in Chitor in the first-half of the 8th century A.D. In the second-half of the same century Chitor came under the occupation of a prince

39. AR. I, p. 245.

40. Verses 153-155, 'Kumbhalgarh Inscription', E.I. XXIV, pp. 325ff., also DHNI, II. p. 1190; verses 29-31, 'Chirwā Ins.' (1330 A.D.), E.I. XXII, p. 288.

41. Bhandarkar's List No. 16; AR, ASI, 1934-35, pp. 56 ff., AR. I, p. 246.

named Kukkureśvara in 754 A.D.⁴² The identification of this prince remains uncertain. He might be a Pratihāra ruler of the time. In the early 9th century, Chitor was conquered by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Govinda III, as it is learnt from the Sirur Grant⁴³ of the time of Amoghavarsha I (866 A.D.). In the same century, Chitor came under the sway of the Pratihāras. It is evident from the Benares Grant⁴⁴ of Kalachuri Karṇa that Harsha held the epithet Chitrakūṭa-bhūpāla. Harsha, who belonged to the Chātsu branch of the Guhilas, rendered military service as a feudatory of the Pratihāra ruler Bhoja. This is known from the Chātsu Inscription⁴⁵ of Bālāditya. The epithet Chitrakūṭa-bhūpāla indicates that Harsha or Harsharāja acted as a governor of Chitor on behalf of his overlord Bhoja Pratihāra (836-885 A.D.). But the occupation of Chitor by Bhoja Pratihāra did not last long. It is evident from the Deoli⁴⁶ and Karhad copper Plate Inscriptions⁴⁷ that Kṛishṇa III snatched away from the

42. AR. III, p. 1823.

43. I.A. XII, p. 219.

44. Verse 7, E.I. II, p. 306.

45. Verse 19, E.I. XII, p. 10.

46. Verse 25, E.I. V, p. 194.

47. Verse 30, E.I. IV, p. 284.

Pratihāras the forts of Kālanjara and Chitrakūṭa.

After the decline of the power of the Pratihāras, Chitor was occupied by the Paramāras of Mālwā. Munja captured the fort of Chitor and the adjoining regions in Mewār⁴⁸, sometime in the eighth decade of the 10th century A.D. Chitor remained under the aegis of the Paramāras for a long time. Bhoja (1010-1055 A.D.), the nephew of Munja, was living in Chitor in 1031 A.D. This is known from the Tirthakalpa of Jinaprabha Sūri. The Chirwā Inscription⁴⁹ (V.S. 1330) informs us that Bhoja built the Śiva temple of Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa in the fort of Chitor. Paramāra Naravarman was also the overlord of Chitor⁵⁰ in 1094 A.D. It was from Paramāra Yaśovarman that Siddharāja Jayasīṃha of Gujrāt finally annexed Chitor⁵¹ in A.D. 1136.

48. NPP. III, p. 5 ; E.I. X, p. 20.

49. Verse 31, E.I. XXII, p. 288.

50. Kharataragachehha Brihadgurvāvali, p. 13.

51. E.I. I, p. 297.

Kumārapāla (A.D. 1144-73) who succeeded Jayasīṃha, dominated over a large part of the territory in and around Mewār. We come to know from the Kumārapālacharita of Jayasīṃha sūri that while his hero Kumārapāla went on a digvijaya, the lord of Chitrakūṭa (Chitor) showed his gratitude to him⁵². It is also learnt from the same source that by the order of the Chaulukya sovereign, prohibition of the killing of animals became effective among other places in Medapāṭa⁵³. It is recorded in the Sukritakīrtikallolini that Arnorāja, son of Vāghelā Chief Dhavala, killed the ruler of Medapāṭa and that of Chandrāvātipura, while serving under Kumārapāla⁵⁴. The Chitorgarh Inscription⁵⁵ (A.D. 1150) informs us that Kumārapāla, after having defeated the ruler of Sākambharī and having devastated the Sapādalāksha country, came to Chitrakūṭa and worshipped the god Somadhiśvara. A prasasti on stone found at Chitor informs us that the Chaulukya king built the

52. DHNI. II, p. 985.

53. Ibid. p. 993.

54. Ibid. p. 1027.

55. E.I. II, pp. 421-424.

temple of Varāha outside the fort, granted as an endowment to it the village of Duna-uda and appointed as minister one Somes'vara⁵⁶. The Chaulukyan suzerainty which was thus consolidated in Chitor continued till the beginning of the 13th century A.D. It is indicated by the Āhār grant of Bhima II⁵⁷ (A.D. 1206) that he made a gift of Āghāṭa, situated in Medapāṭamandala, that was enjoyed by him (svabhujyamāna Medapāṭamandala).

Sāmantasīmha

The weak successors of Vijayasīmha who flourished before Sāmantasīmha were unable to oust the Chaulukyas. It was Sāmantasīmha who began his struggle against the Chaulukyas. Except the two dated records, the Jagat Inscription⁵⁸ (A.D. 1171) and the Solaj Inscription⁵⁹ (A.D. 1179), there are other five inscriptions bearing the name of Sāmantasīmha. These

56. RMR, 1930-31, pp. 2-3.

57. PAIOC. VII, p. 643.

58. RMR. 1915, p. 3.

59. Ibid.

five records are 1) Uthman Inscription⁶⁰ (V.S. 1256) 2) Bammera Inscription⁶¹ (V.S. 1258) 3) Second Bammera Inscription⁶² (V.S. 1258) 4) San-derav Inscription⁶³ (V.S. 1258) 5) the third Bammera Inscription⁶⁴ (V.S. 1258). Of these five epigraphic records, only the first one was found in the Sirohi State, Rājputānā, and the remaining four were found in the Jodhpur State, Rājputānā.

D.R. Bhandarkar⁶⁵ regards these records as belonging to Sāmantasīmha of the Guhila family. H.C. Ray⁶⁶ also is of the same opinion. But D. Sharma⁶⁷ has opined, on consideration of their dates as well as provenance, that is, the principality of Nādol, that those five records are to be

60. ASI, WC, 1916-17, pp. 65-66.

61. E.I. XX, Appendix. p. 64, No. 444.

62. E.I. XX, Appendix. p. 64, No. 445.

63. Ibid. p. 64, No. 446.

64. Ibid. p. 64, No. 447.

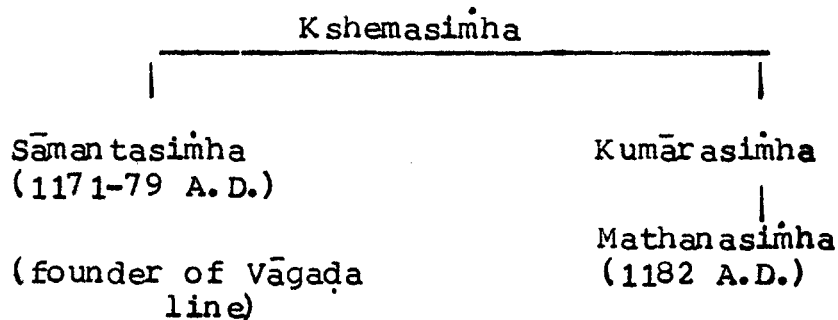
65. Ibid. p. 64.

66. DHNI. II, p. 1181.

67. Sharma, D. Early Chauhan Dynasties, Delhi, 1959, p. 140.

ascribed to Sāmantasimha of Nādol, probably a successor, of Jayantasimha of the Chāhamāna family, who followed Kelhaṇa.

The view of Sharma deserves consideration. The Ata Temple Inscription⁶⁸ dated V.S. 1239 (A.D. 1182), found in the Udaipur state, refers to Mahārājādhirāja Mathanasimhadeva ruling at Nāgadrāha. Mathanasimha was the nephew and grand successor of Sāmantasimha, as it is evident from the Kumbhalgarh Inscription⁶⁹ (1460 A.D.). The genealogy as furnished by the Kumbhalgarh Inscription is given below :-



Kumārasimha was the brother and successor of Sāmantasimha (1171-79 A.D.). It may, therefore, be held that Kumārasimha ruled between A.D. 1179 and A.D. 1182.

68. RMR. 1928 p. 3.

69. Verse 150, 3rd slab, E.I. XXIV, pp. 325ff.

Because, A.D. 1179 is the last known date of his predecessor Sāmantasimha and A.D. 1182 is the date of his successor Mathanasimha. If we ascribe the last five records i.e. Uthman Inscription (V.S. 1256) three Bannera Inscriptions (V.S. 1258) and the Sanderav Inscription (V.S. 1258) to Sāmantasimha, we have to assume that he ruled between 1171-1201 A.D. In that case, the reign-period of Sāmantasimha would overlap with that of Kumārasimha and Mathanasimha. Further, from the point of view of provenance, the ascription of the records to Sāmantasimha does not seem to be reasonable. Because, Sāmantasimha began to rule in Mewār and later, under the pressure of the Chaulukyas of Gujrat, in alliance with the Chāhamānas of Nādol, was forced to retire to Dungarpur⁷⁰. Nainsi states in his Khyāta that Sāmantasimha abdicated the throne in favour of his younger brother and, having killed Chaurisimālaka, prince of Vāgaḍa, established his line in that region⁷¹. It is not, therefore, expected that his records should be found beyond the limits of Medapāṭa-Vāgaḍa (Mewār and Dungarpur-Bānswārā) region. The records in question, as pointed

70. DHNI. II, p. 1183.

71. URI. I, p. 150. DHNI. II, pp. 1182ff.

out by Sharma, have been found in the principality of Nāḍol. Following this line of argument, it would be reasonable for us to assume that Guhila Sāmantasīmha began to rule in Mewār in C. A.D. 1171. This is evident from the Jagat Inscription. But he had to shift to Vāgaḍa before C. 1179 A.D., the date of the Solaj Inscription.

Relation of Sāmantasīmha with the Chaulukyas

The confusion started following the death of Chaulukya Kumārapāla in C. A.D. 1173. Ajayapāla, the successor of Kumārapāla, was not a very powerful ruler. It is stated in the Ābu Prasasti⁷² (V.S. 1287) that Prahladāna's sword defended the Gurjara king, when his power had been broken in the battlefield by Sāmantasīmha. The lines in the original are given below :-

Sāmantasīmha-Samiti Ksata-Viksataujah -
Śrī Gurjara - Ksitipa-raksana-daksinasih |

72. Verse 38, E.I. VIII, p. 211, The Surathotsava Kāvya also mentions the fact that Ajayapāladeva was beaten by Sāmantasīmha. cf. Somani, R.V., History of Mewar, Jaipur, 1976, p. 76.

Prahladānastadanujo danujottamāri -

Charitramatra Punarujjvalayamchakara ||

The Gurjara king, referred to here , may be reasonably identified with Chaulukya Ajayapāla and Sāmantasimha may be equated with the Guhila king of that name. Prahladāna is to be identified with Paramāra Prahladāna, the brother of Chandrāvatī Paramāra Dhārāvarsha (1169-1219 A.D.) Luders, while editing the Ābu Prasasti, identified the Gurjara king with Bhīmadeva II⁷³ whereas Pandit Ojha suggested, on the basis of various literary texts and the available records, that the Gurjara king was Ajayapāla⁷⁴. Again, Ajayapāla (1173-76 A.D.) was the elder contemporary of Sāmantasimha (1171-79 A.D.) and reasonably Sāmantasimha took the advantage of the death of Kumārapāla, the immediate predecessor of Ajayapāla. D. Sharma correctly

73. E.I. VIII, pp. 200ff.

74. URI. I, p. 145; Ojha observes that both Mularāja II and Bhīmadeva II were contemporaries of Sāmantasimha, but Sāmantasimha's battle was directed against Ajayapāla.

suggests that the identity of the (Gurjara) ruler is made certain by the Surathotsava, where the ruler is actually mentioned as Ajayapāla⁷⁵.

Sāmantasimha is said to have turned the nobles against himself by forfeiting their jagirs. The lines in the Mount Ābu Inscription⁷⁶ (V.S. 1342) are quoted below :-

Sāmantasimhanāma-Kāmādhika Sundara Śarīrah
bhūpāloyani tasmadapahṛita Sāmanta Sarvasva.

It is difficult to understand why he deprived the Sāmantas of their territories and other resources. It might be that taking an opportunity of Sāmanta-simha's engagement with the Chaulukyas, his feudatories attempted to assert their independence. That is why, Sāmantasimha had to curb the pride and power of his sāmantas.

Sāmantasimha and the Chāhamānas

Kīrtipāla, or Kitu, the youngest son of Alhaṇa Chauhan of Nādol, brother of Kelhaṇa, took

75. Sharma, D. Rajasthan Through the Ages, Vol.I, Bikaner, 1966, p. 76, fn. 2.

76. Verse 36, I.A. XVI, p.349; Bhāv. Ins., p. 86.

the advantage of the weakness of the internal situation in Mewār. He was the founder of Jāvāli-pura Chāhamāna branch. G.C. Raychaudhuri⁷⁷ has rightly pointed out that he tried to fish in the troubled waters. Sāmantasīmha was engaged in battle with the Chaulukyas. At the same time, he had to put down the rebellion of his feudatories. In this background, Kīrtipāla invaded Mewār, defeated Sāmantasīmha and drove him away from his own kingdom sometime before 1179 A.D. the date recorded in the Solaj Inscription. That some portions of Mewār were lost is evident from the Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342) where it is stated that Kumārasīmha, successor of Sāmantasīmha, took away the kingdom which had gone to the possession of the enemy⁷⁸. According to H.C. Ray⁷⁹, Kīrtipāla, invaded and occupied Mewār on behalf of his Gurjara overlord. Ajayapāla. This view is not accepted by G.C. Raychaudhuri⁸⁰. Whether Kīrtipāla fought against

77. HM. p. 49.

78. Verse 37, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

79. DHNI. II, p. 1183.

80. HM. p. 50.

the Guhila king in the capacity of a feudatory or an ally of Chaulukyas or in his independent capacity is not definitely known. But it appears from the indirect evidence of the Mount Ābu Inscription⁸¹ (V.S. 1342) that Sāmantasīmha had to suffer the loss of Mewār.

A.K. Majumdar⁸² has suggested that Sāmantasīmha, whose family was up to that time insignificant, took courage after the death of Kumārāpāla and tried to take away Chitor region from the domination of the Chaulukyas. How far Sāmantasīmha was successful is not known. In his inscriptions dated upto A.D. 1202, Sāmantasīmha used the modest title Mahārāja, whereas after that date he adopted the title Mahārājādhirāja. This indicates, according to Majumdar, that he was reduced to a subordinate status till A.D. 1202. It appears that Majumdar has confused Guhila Sāmantasīmha with Sāmantasīmha, son of Chauhān ruler Jayantasīmha of Nādol⁸³.

81. Verse 37, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

82. Majumdar, A.K., The Chaulukyas of Gujrat, Bombay, 1956, p. 128.

83. Jayantasīmha Chauhān Ke Śhīlālekha, Varadā, Vol. XII, No. 4, pp. 5-6.

Sāmantasīmha in Vāgaḍa

Sāmantasīmha is described as the progenitor of the ruling family of Vāgaḍa (Dungarpur-Bānswārā). Nainsi in his Khyāta writes about his voluntary abdication in favour of his younger brother Kumārasīmha. This might have been the result of his defeat in the hands of Chāhamāna Kīrtipāla. However, it is likely that Sāmantasīmha retired to Vāgaḍa, sometime at the end of the seventh decade of the 12th century A.D. His line continued to rule in that region. The Solaj Inscription indicates that he had established himself in Vāgaḍa by A.D. 1179, the date of the record.

Kumārasīmha

Sāmantasīmha's brother as well as successor Kumārasīmha was an able ruler. We are told by the Mount Ābu Inscription⁸⁴ (V.S. 1342) that Kumārasīmha made the earth possessed of a good king after having taken it away from the possession of the enemy. The

84. Verse 37, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

enemy of Kumārasimha, referred to here, appears to be none other than Kīrtipāla. The Kumbhalgarh Inscription (1460 A.D.)⁸⁵ also informs us that Kumārasimha, with the help of the ruler of Gujrāt, succeeded in expelling Kitu from Mewār and made Āghāṭapura his own. Kitu of this record was in all probability Chāhamāna Kīrtipāla of Nādol. It would not be therefore, unreasonable to assume that the sāmantas in Mewār as also the Chaulukyas, who had been hostile against Sāmantasimha, were friendly with Kumārasimha. Kumārasimha succeeded, by his play of shrewd diplomacy, in making an alliance with the Gurjara king against Kīrtipāla, who had seized his own kingdom (Svarājya), and thus made himself master of Āghāṭapura. The original verse recorded in the Kumbhalgarh Inscription⁸⁶ is given below :-

Sāmantasimhanāma bhūpatir bhūtale Jātaḥ.
Bhrātā Kumārasimha bhūt Svarājya grahinam Param,
deśāntiniṣkāśāyamaśa Kitu-Samjnama nripam tuyah
Svikritam Tāghata-Puram Gurjara-nripatim
Prasādyā.

85. Verse 150, E.I. XXIV, p. 221.

86. Verse 150, E.I. XXIV, p. 221.

Svarājya, in the second line, probably means the realm of the Guhilas, that is the kingdom of Sāmantasimha where Kumārasimha restored the lost authority and power of the Guhilas. It has been observed by Dasaratha Sharma⁸⁷, "Though the nobles were dissatisfied by the behaviour of Samantasimha, they did not permit an outsider like Kirtipala to rule in Mewar and therefore, setting aside their differences, they offered the throne to Samantasimha's younger brother Kumarasimha. He was an astute politician, won over to his side the ruler of Gujrat and managed soon to make himself the master of his own patrimony, though the price paid for it was perhaps the cession of Aghata to the Chaulukyas".

The expression Svikritamtāghatapuram in the Kumbhalgarh inscription suggests that Kumārasimha secured Āghāṭapura by pleasing Gurjarapati (Gurjara-nṛipatiṁ Prasādyā). But for Kumārasimha a much better expression would have been Svikritam-medapāṭam. Because, Āghāṭapura is only a city in

87. Sharma, D. Rajasthan Through the Ages, Vol. I, Bikaner, 1966, pp. 276-77.

Medapāṭa or Mewār. Kumārasimha wanted to be the master of Mewār and not of Āghāṭa only. Kumārasimha's successor is represented as the ruler of Nāgdā⁸⁸. It was Nāgdā, and not Āghāṭa, which was bequeathed by Kumārasimha as the capital to his successor.

Although Kumārasimha restored the power of the Guhilas, he seems to have acknowledged the political dominance of the Chaulukyas, as it is suggested by the evidence of the Kumbhalgarh Inscription (1460 A.D.). Āghāṭa remained under the control of Chaulukya Bhima II upto A.D. 1206 (V.S. 1263). This is known from the Āhār Grant⁸⁹, where it is said that Medapāṭa was enjoyed by the Chaulukya king. Being ousted from Mewār Kitu or Kīrtipāla Chāhamāna of Nādol made himself the master of Jālor and laid the foundation of Jāvālipura or Jālor branch of the Chāhamānas.

88. Ibid. p. 277 fn. 2.

89. PAIOC. VII, p. 643.

Kumārasimha ruled sometime between A.D. 1179 and A.D. 1182. A.D. 1179 is the last known date of his predecessor, while A.D. 1182 is the first known date of his successor. The two immediate successors of Kumārasimha were Mathanasimha and Padmasimha. Their relationship with Kumārasimha is not definitely known.

Mathanasimha

Two inscriptions of Mathanasimha have so far been found. The Ata Temple Inscription⁹⁰ (A.D. 1182) informs that Mathanasimha was a Mahārājādhirāja and ruled at Nāghrada. Another Inscription (A.D. 1185) incised in the Vishṇu Temple of Ishwal, has recently been discovered. The Chirwā Inscription⁹¹ (V.S. 1330) yields the information that Mathanasimha appointed Uddharāṇa as the talāraksha of Nāghradapura. Uddharāṇa's descendants held similar posts under the successors of Mathana and rendered valuable services

90. RMR, 1928, p. 3.

91. Verses 9-16, E.I. XXII, pp. 288ff.

to their masters. The Mount Ābu Inscription⁹² (V.S. 1342) compares Mathanasimha with the "crushing lion who chastised his enemies by his valour". But it is difficult to trace the enemies of Mathanasimha. Mathanasimha might consider the Chaulukyas, under whom he to remain a vassal as his adversaries. Again, the Muslim invaders might also be considered as Mathanasimha's enemies. The reign of Mathanasimha probably came to an end sometime before A.D. 1194, the first known date of his successor Padmasimha.

A coin of Mathanasimha was discovered⁹³. This coin is of copper-plated silver. A much worn-out coin retain the legend Śrī Ma. The bust of the king is completely worn out. The style of the script is almost Nāgari of the 12th-13th century A.D.

92. Verse 38, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

93. JNSI, XX, pp. 26 ff.

Padmasimha

Mathanasimha was succeeded by Padmasimha. The Kumbhalgarh Inscription (1460 A.D.) records that he was a prince of great valour, whom people even now remember for his manifold merits⁹⁴. The Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342) states that the country of Medapāṭa was protected as well as tenderly cherished by the prince Padmasimha⁹⁵. An Inscription of his reign is found from the Śiva Temple in the village Narasinghapur in Tahsil Gogundāh. His Copper-plates dated V.S. 1251 (1194 A.D.) relate to the land-grant in the village Kadmal, situated 25 miles north-west of Āghāṭa or Āhār. Padmasimha probably ruled between A.D. 1194 and A.D. 1213, the first known date of his successor Jaitrasimha. Padmasimha continued to remain a vassal under the Gurjara king. It is indicated by the Āhār Grant of Bhima II (1206 A.D.) recording the grant of Āghāṭa, situated in the Medapāṭamandala, which was being enjoyed by him (Svabhujyamāna - Medapāṭamandala)⁹⁶. Mathanasimha

94. Verse 152, E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

95. Verse 40, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

96. PAIOC. VII, p. 643.

had already held the title Mahārājādhirāja⁹⁷ indicating his independent status. We, may, therefore, assume that Mathana and his successor might have vaguely acknowledged the Chaulukya suzerainty, although for all practical purposes they enjoyed an independent status.

Role of the Guhilas in the face of foreign invasion

It was probably towards the end of the reign of Mathanasimha, Muhammad Ghuri invaded Rājputānā⁹⁸. But it is difficult to ascertain whether the Guhila ruler in question had any role to play in offering resistance against foreign aggression. It is stated that the prince of Chitor, his son Kalyān Singh and his soldiers numbering 13 thousands were slain in the second battle of Tarāin⁹⁹. The information seems to have been derived from the tradition. Depending on the same tradition, Col. Tod¹⁰⁰ suggests

97. 'Ata Temple Inscription' (A.D. 1182) RMR, 1928, p. 3.

98. Tabaqat-I-Nāsiri, I. Tr. by Raverty, pp. 451-52 and p. 468.

99. CHI. Vol. III, Chapter XX. p. 520.

100. AR. I, pp. 275-277.

the identification of the 'Prince of Chitor', that is the father of Kaliān (Kalyān Singh) with Samarsi or Samarasimha, who married the sister of Prithvirāja Chauhan. Tod appears to have depended upon the account in the Prithvirājarāso. If we attach any importance to the tradition, we may assume that the Guhila rulers played a significant role in the second battle of Tarāin (1192 A.D.) where prithvirāja Chauhan was decisively defeated by Muhammad Ghurī. In that case, we might also assume that the Muslim historian Firishtā¹⁰¹, while referring 150 Rājput princes who had assembled to help Prithvirāja, indirectly referred to the Guhila princes among them.

The tradition has to be examined in the light of the epigraphic records furnishing us with a dependable chronology of the Guhila rulers. It is learnt from the Guhila records that Samarasimha was the father as well as the predecessor of Ratanasimha¹⁰², ruled in Mewār from A.D. 1273 to

101. Briggs, John, RMPI. I, pp. 96-97.

102. Verse 176, 3rd slab; Kumbhalgarh Ins. (1460 A.D.) E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff. 'Dāribā Temple Ins.' of Samarasimha and Ratanasimha dated A.D. 1299 and A.D. 1302, RMR. 1927, p. 3.

A.D. 1301¹⁰³. It appears, therefore, that Samarasimha flourished much later than the fall of Prithvirāja Chauhan. Therefore, the prince of Chitor, referred to in the tradition can hardly be identified with the Guhila ruler Samarasimha. The prince of Chitor has been referred as the father of Kalyān Singh. But the Guhila records inform us that the son of Samarasimha was none but Ratanasimha. It would be, therefore, unreasonable to associate the Guhilas with Prithvirāja Chauhan in the second battle of Tarāin. Tod has even confused the succession list of the Guhila rulers when he mentions Kurna (Karna) as the heir of Samarsi¹⁰⁴, (or Samarasimha).

However, the available evidence suggests that the prince of Chitor, whoever he might be, did not belong to the Guhila line. Chitor was not yet in the possession of the Guhilas, when Rājputānā was invaded by Muhammad Ghurī. Muhammad Ghurī's invasion had probably little impact upon Mewār with its capital at Nāgahrada or Nāgdā. The absence of even a passing reference to the Guhila rulers, their kingdom of

103. E.I. XXII, p. 288; RMR. 1921, p. I.

104. AR. I. p. 279.

Mewār or their capital in Muslim historians' accounts might indicate that till the end of the 12th century A.D. the Guhilas did not attain such a significant political status as to deserve special mention.

It appears that till the end of the 12th century A.D. the Guhilas struggled hard to maintain their independent status in Mewār due to the repeated onslaughts of the powers like the Mauryas, Pratihāras, Rāshtrakūṭas, Paramāras and the Chaulukyas. In their struggle for independent existence the Guhilas were so involved that they hardly had any time or opportunity to look beyond the frontiers of their own kingdom, and make a plan to join the Hindu confederacy, often referred to in the accounts of the Muslim historians, in order to give resistance to foreign aggressions¹⁰⁵. But they did not stand as silent spectators in the distress of India and supplied contingent of troops, aids and weapons to the contemporary^{powers} against foreign invaders. It was in the beginning of the 13th century A.D. that the Guhilas rose to the status of an eminent political power, when Jaitrasimha (1213-1252 A.D.) ascended the

105. HIED, I, p. 126 ; RMPI, I, p. 11 ; p. 26 ; pp. 96-97.

throne with full-fledged imperial titles¹⁰⁶. The responsibility of offering resistance to foreign aggressions was undertaken by the Guhilas from the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.

106. HM. p. 57.

Table II : Genealogical table of the collateral branches of the Guhilas

Guhilas of Śeśodā

Rāṇā Rāhapa (son of Rāṇasimha
Narapati alias Karṇa of
the main branch)
Dinakarna
Jasakarna
Purnapāla
Prithvipāla
Bhuvanasiṃha
Bhimasiṃha
Jayasiṃha
Mahārāṇā Lakshmanasiṃha (1303 A.D.)
Arisiṃha Ajaysiṃha
Hāmmira (1326-1364 A.D.)

Guhilas of Chātsu

Bhartripaṭṭa
Iśanabhaṭa
Upendrabhaṭa
Guhila I
Dhanika
Auka
Krishnarāja
Śaṅkaragaṇa = Yajjā
Harsharāja = Sillā
Guhila II = Rajjhā (daughter of
Paramāra Vallabharāja)
Bhaṭṭa = Purāsā (daughter of
Viruka)
Bālāditya (10th century A.D.) = Raṭṭavā
(daughter of Chāhamāna Śivarāja)
Vallabharāja Vighnarāja Devarāja

Guhilas of Dhod

Guhila
Dhanika

Guhilas of Nāsuni (Ajmer)

Dhanika
Iśanabhaṭa

Guhilas of Nagar

Iśanabhaṭa
Upendrabhaṭa
Guhila
Dhanika

Guhilas of Saurāstra

Sānāra
Sānājiga
Mulaka (1145 A.D.) Somarāja

Guhilas of Nādulaḍāgika

Uddharaṇa
Rājadeva (1138 A.D.)

Guhilas of Āsikā (Punjab)

Kilhaṇa and his
descendants.

Guhilas of Vāgada

Sāmantasiṃha (main line) and
his descendants.

Guhilas of Kiśkindhā

Paḍḍa
Devagaṇa
Bhāvihita (H.E. 48)
Bhetti (H.E. 73)
Bābhata (H.E. 83)
Kaḍachi

Chapter - VII

Climax and Fall of the Guhila Power

It was during the reign of Jaitrasimha, son and successor of Padmasimha that the Guhilas attained the position of a major political power in North India. The reign period of Jaitrasimha is characterised by constant struggle with the hostile political power to assert the role of Mewār in Indian politics.

Records of Jaitrasimha's reign period

The Ekalingaji Stone Inscription¹ V.S. 1270 (A.D. 1213), seen in the courtyard of the temple of Ekalingaji in Mewār bears the name of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Jaitrasimhadeva.

The Nandesama Stone Inscription² V.S. 1279 (A.D. 1222), engraved on a pillar in the temple of

1. Bhāv. Ins., p. 47.

2. RMR., 1925, p. 2.

Surya (the sun - god) at the village Nandesma in Mewār was issued in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja (i.e. Jaitrasimhadeva) at Nāgahrada.

The manuscript of the Daśavaikālikasūtra, was written by Hemachandra in V.S. 1284 (A.D. 1227) at Āghāta - durga in the reign of Samasta - rājāvali Samalaṅkṛita Mahārājādhirāja Jaitrasimha. The manuscript informs us that Jaitrasimha appointed Mahā-amātmya Jagatasimha, who was carrying on the administration of the seal³.

The Jharole Stone Inscription⁴ V.S. 1308 (A.D. 1251) engraved on a lintel of the temple of Vayajanātha or Vaidyanātha Śiva at Jharole in Vāgaḍa (Dungarpur - Bānswārā region) bears the name of Mahārāja - Kūla Jayasimhadeva (i.e. Jaitrasimhadeva) ruling at Vāgaḍa.

The manuscript of the Pāksika vṛtti written in the month of Māgha gives a date. Whether the date

3. I.A., XIX, p. 165, No. 86.

4. RMR. 1925, p. 2.

belonged to the reign of Jaitrasīmha or to that of his successor Tejasīmha is not certain. Scholars have differently read the relevant lines of the MSS. as given below⁵ :-

Samvat 1309 Varṣe Māgha Vadi 14 some Svasti
Śrīmad - Āghāte Mahārājādhirāja - Bhagvān - Nārāyaṇa
Daksina - Uttaradhisamānamardana - Śrī - Jayatasīmha-
deva - tatpatta - vibhūṣana - rājāśrite Jayasīmha-
viḷayarājye tatpādapadmopajivini maham. Śrī - Talhana -
pratipattau Śrī - Śrīkaraṇādisamasta - vyāpārān
Paripanthayatvevaṁ kāle pravartamane Tha Vayajalenā
Pāksikavrttir - likhiteti.

It has been suggested by Pandit G.H. Ojha⁶ that Jayatasīmha tat patta Vibhūṣana rājāśrite Jayasīmha Viḷayarājye refers to the composition of the work in the reign of Jaitrasīmha. The same is the view of H.C. Ray⁷. But G.C. Raychaudhuri⁸ and

5. Śiṅghī Jaina Granthamālā, No. 18. p. 125.

6. URI. I. pp. 166-167.

7. DHNI. II. p. 1186.

8. HM. p. 58.

D. Sharma⁹ have read the same line as Jayatasimha-
deva - tatpatta - Vibhūṣana - rāja Śrī Tejasimha
Vijayarājye. G.C. Roychaudhuri points out that in
the reading suggested by Ojha, the name of
Jayasimha occurs twice, which is less probable in
this context. D. Sharma has also discarded the
earlier reading of the line. It is, therefore, not
unreasonable to assume that the work was composed
during the reign of Tejasimha. The MSS of V.S. 1309
indicates that Tejasimha was already on the throne
in V.S. 1309 (A.D. 1252). Jaitrasimha was succeeded
by Tejasimha in that year, sometime before 14 Māgha.
Jaitrasimha, therefore, ruled for a long period
(1213-1252 A.D.) of 40 years.

Rise of the Guhilas as a Sovereign Power

The Āhār Grant of Bhima II dated V.S. 1263
(A.D. 1207) expressly tells us that Medapāta was
enjoyed by that king (Svabhujyamāna Medapāta -
mandala)¹⁰. It is indicated that the Chaulukya
dominance in Mewār continued till the date of the

9. Rajasthan Through the Ages, Vol. I. Bikaner,
1966, p. 658.

10. PAIOC. VII, p. 643.

record. Jaitrasimha seems to have come to power after having overthrown the Chaulukyān political dominance /sometime in A.D. 1213, the date of his Ekalingaji Stone Inscription¹¹. The imperial titles and epithets of Jaitrasimha indicate that he raised for the first time the Guhila family to a sovereign and independent status.

Conflict with Contemporary powers

Following the capture of power in Mewār, Jaitrasimha had to face a series of aggressions from outside. It is learnt from the Ghāgshā Inscription¹² of his son Tejasimha V.S. 1322 (A.D. 1265) that the lords of Mālava, Gurjara, Sākambharī and Turuskas were unable to humble his pride. Similar information is also furnished by the Chirwā Inscription¹³ of his grandson Samarasimha

11. Bhāv. Ins., p. 47.

12. Verses 5-6, RMR. 1927, p. 3 (Ghāgshā is a village near Chitor).

13. Verse 6, E.I. XXII, p. 288 (Chirwā is a village 8 miles north of Udaipur).

V.S. 1330 (A.D. 1273). It tells us that his power did not suffer diminution inspite of the military campaigns launched by the kings of Mālava, Gurjara, Marava, Jaṅgala and the Mlechchhas. The original lines are as follows :-

Na Mālaviyena Na Gurjarena
Na Māravesēna na Jaṅgalena
Mlecchādhinathena Kadapi māno
mlanim na ninye vanipasya yasya.

We are further told by the Mount Ābu Inscription¹⁴ of V.S. 1342 (A.D. 1285) that he completely destroyed Nādol and proved to be a fearful enemy to the Turuskas. "Even now goblins loudly sing in battle the valour of the arm of the illustrious Jaitrasīṃha, having their minds ecstatic with pleasure caused by the embrace of their mistresses who are tottering about intoxicated with the blood of the Sindhuka army". Sindhuka army might stand for the army of Sindh, although

14. Verses 42-43, I.A. XVI. p. 347.

G.C. Roychaudhuri¹⁵ considers Sindhuka to be the name of a person.

From the epigraphic records mentioned above, it is learnt that Jaitrasimha came in to conflict with the Gurjaras, that is, the Chaulukyas and the Mālavas, that is, the Paramāras. Sākambharī and Nādol, no doubt, indicate the Chāhamāna rulers of those two kingdoms. The Turuskas or the Mlechhas stand for the Muslim invaders. Sākambharī is to be identified with Sāmbhar, situated at a distance of eleven Kms. from Phulerā Junction in Jaipur district, the early seat of power of the Chāhamānas. Nādol is to be identified with Naddulā, situated to the north and north-east about 13 kms. from Jāwāliā station on the Rājputānā - Mālwa Railway. This place was famous as the capital of the Mārwar Chāhamāna family, the founder of which was Lakshmaṇa, who established himself at Naddula. The lord of Māḍa is identical with the ruler of Jaisalmer, because the old name of Jaisalmer was Meda¹⁶. 'Jaṅgala Country' is identified by

15. HM. p. 55.

16. Bhandarkar, D.R., 'The Chāhamānas of Mārwar', E.I. XI, pp. 26 ff; vide also NPP. II, p. 339.

G.H. Ojha with the region now known as Bikaner and Northern Mārwar. The Chauhān rulers of Sākambharī and Ajmer were very often called Jaṅgalesa. Chauhān Prithvīrāja III is referred as the 'lord of Jaṅgala'. It was probably on account of their association with the Jaṅgala area that the rulers of Bikāner were later styled as Jaṅgaladhara Pādśāh^{16A}.

The contemporaries of Jaitrasīmha (1213-1252 A.D.) in Gujrāt were Chaulukya rulers Bhima II (1178-1241 A.D.) and Tribhuvanapāla (1241-1244 A.D.) and Vāghelā chiefs Lāvanyaprasāda, Viradhavala (the dates of these two princes are not definitely known) and Viśāladeva (1244-1262 A.D.)¹⁷. The Gurjara king who was defeated by Jaitrasīmha most probably in the early part of his reign was Bhīma II, as the latter was the early contemporary of the former. Āghāṭa was so long under the possession of Bhīma II, as it is suggested by the

16A. DHNI. II, p. 1023; Sharma, D., op.cit. p. 12.

17. Majumdar, A.K., The Chaulukyas of Gujrat, Bombay, 1956, Chapter X.

Āhār Grant of Bhīma II V.S. 1263 (A.D. 1207) ¹⁸.

The conflict between Jaitrasīmha and Bhīma II is indirectly referred to in the Ghāgshā Inscription (V.S. 1322) ¹⁹. The Hāmmiramadamardana ²⁰ of Jayasīmha Sūri yields the information that Jaytāla, identified with Jaitrasīmha, did not join Viradhavalā, the minister of Bhīma II, when the Turuska - viras invaded Gujrāt. In spite of the call from the side of the ruler of Gujrāt, Jaitrasīmha did not care to repond. From this we may infer

- a) that Jaitrasīmha has already established himself as an independent ruler, and
- b) that the relation between the Guhilas and the Chaulukyas were not friendly.

Jaitrasīmha did not come into conflict only with Bhīma II, but also with his successor Tribhuvanapāla. We are told by the Chirwā Inscription

18. PAIOC. VII, p. 643.

19. Verses 5-6, RMR, 1927, p. 3.

20. Hāmmiramadamardana (composed in A.D. 1229), (GOS) . p. 27.

(V.S. 1330) that Balaka of Talāraksha family was killed while fighting with Raṇaka Tribhuvana at Kottadaka (Kotāda in Mewār)²¹. Tribhuvanapāla had a very short reign of three years (1241-44 A.D.). It is, therefore, likely that this battle took place sometime between A.D. 1242 and A.D. 1243.

Again, as shown by the Ghāgshā and Chirwā Inscription, Jaitrasimha fought against the Mālava king, that is, the Paramāra king of Mālava. We are told by the Chirwā Inscription (V.S. 1330) that Madana, the grandson of Yogarāja, and officer of Padmasimha, fought in the battlefield of Utthunaka (identified with Arthunā, 28 miles west of Bānswārā, Rājputānā) on behalf of Jesala against Pāñchālagudika Jaitramalla²². The Mālava contemporaries of Jaitrasimha were Paramāra Arjunavarman (1211-15 A.D.), Devapāla (1218-32 A.D.), Jaitugideva (1236-43 A.D.) and Jayavarman or Jayasimha II (1254-69 A.D.)²³. It is not certain with which of the princes mentioned

21. Verse 19, E.I. XXII, p. 288.

22. Ibid. Verses 23-28.

23. HM. p. 54.

above Jaitrasīmha came into conflict. G.H. Ojha²⁴ has identified Jesala with Guhila Jaitrasīmha and Jaitramalla with Mālava Paramāra Jaitugideva. Both were contemporaries of each other. But G.C. Roychaudhuri has identified Jesala with Jayasīmha of Vāgaḍa (Durgarpur - Bānswārā) (1251 A.D.) within whose kingdom Utthunaka was situated. Jaitramalla, according to him, should be identified with Chāhamāna Jaitrasīmha of Ranathambhor, who harassed Jayasīmha of Mandapa (Māṇḍu) that is, Paramāra Jayavarman II (1254-69) who made incursions into the territory of Vāgaḍa²⁵.

Jaitramalla, referred to above, was most probably Jaitugi, the ruler of Mālwa himself. This identification is corroborated by the Ghāgshā Inscription (V.S. 1322) and the Chirwā Inscription (V.S. 1330), which furnish the account of the victory of Jaitrasīmha against a ruler of Mālwa. Jesala's identification with Jayasīmha of Vāgaḍa is not unlikely, but his identification with

24. URI. I, pp. 158-159.

25. HM. p. 54.

Jaitrasimha of Mewār is more plausible. It seems that Jesala and Jaytāla were the nicknames of Jaitrasimha.

Jaitrasimha's conflict with the Chāhamānas was actually a struggle against the rulers of Sākambharī, Jaṅgala, Māra and Nādol, referred to in the Ghāgshā, Chirwā and Mount Ābu Inscriptions. In the Chirwā Inscription²⁶ both the words Jaṅgala and Māraśa appear, while in the Ghāgshā Inscription²⁷ the word Sākambharīśvara is found. In fact, Udayasimha (1206-49 A.D.) was called Sākambharīśvara or Sāmbharirāya, on account of his being a Chāhamāna²⁸. "He was also the Māraśa, or ruler of Maru and Jaṅgalaśa or the ruler of the Jaṅgala territory, which by 1200 A.D., or so had come practically to be identified with Sapādalaksa, the territory of the Chauhāns of Sākambharī"²⁹. The

26. Verse 6, E.I. XXII, p. 288.

27. Verses 5-6, RMR. 1927, p. 3.

28. Cf. Sharma, D, op.cit. p. 653.

29. Ibid.

Mount Ābu Inscription³⁰ dated V.S. 1342 (A.D. 1285) tells us that Jaitrasimha completely destroyed Nadula or Nādol. It has been suggested by G.H. Ojha³¹ that the raid was made as a retaliatory measure against Kīrtipāla's invasion of Mewār. Udayasimha belonged to the dynasty of Kīrtipāla of Nādol branch and later founded the Jālor branch of the Chāhamānas. Jālor or Jāvālipura was situated 12 kms. south of Jodhpur city. Udayasimha was ruling at Jālor and other places including Nādol were also under his rule³².

The most remarkable struggle was waged by Jaitrasimha (1213-52 A.D.) against the Turuskas or Mlechhas, that is, the Muslims. His conflict against the Turuskas are mentioned in the Ghāgshā and Chirwā Inscriptions. His contemporary Turuska adversary was the Sultān of Delhi, Shāmsuddin Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.). We are told by the Chirwā Inscription (V.S. 1330) that some Sultān (Suratrāna) invaded Nāgdā and devastated the city. A furious

30. Verse 42, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

31. URI. I, pp. 157-158.

32. 'Sundhā Hill Inscription', Verse 43, E.I. IX, pp. 73ff.

battle ensued at Bhūtala, near Nāgdā, where Talāraksha Yogarāja's eldest son Pamarāja was killed³³. An account of the invasion of the Guhila capital Nāgdā or Nāgahrada by the Muslims is available from the Hāmmiramadamardana composed by Jayasimha Sūri. We are told that "the city was burnt, the children were butchered by the invaders, most of the citizens fled, and others committed suicide, but did not submit to the Muslims"³⁴. We are further informed³⁵ that "King Viradhavala of Gujrāt, while talking with his minister, says that Jaitrasimha, king of Mewār, had a hostile attitude towards him, as he felt very much proud of the strength of his arms. In the meantime one of his spies named Kamaluka entered and informed the vivid picture that had happened at Nāgdā. He added that he consoled the terrified people by declaring that Viradhavala had reached with his full army. He concluded that when the news reached the Turushka invaders they

33. Verse 16, 'Chirwā Inscription', E.I. XXII, p. 288.

34. Hāmmiramadamardana (G.O.S.), p. 27.

35. Ibid.

left the field in confusion"³⁶. The Chirwā Inscripton³⁷ also suggests that the Sultān could not humble the pride of Jaitrasīmha. From the available evidence we may infer that although initially Jaitrasīmha suffered defeat at the hands of the Sultān, later he recovered and promoted his possession and drove away the invading army.

In the Hāmmiramadamardana the name of Jaitrasīmha appears as 'Jaytāla', the lord of Medapāṭa and the leader of the Muslim invasion is named as 'Milacchikāra'. It is suggested that 'Milacchikāra' is the Sanskrit form of Āmir-i-shikar, a title which was conferred by Kutubuddin on his slave Iltutmish³⁸. D.R. Barnett and

36. Pandit Ojha did not believe this story.

"A victorious army would not run away merely on hearing that a hostile force much weaker than the one, already decisively beaten on its way to the scene of the battle " URI. I. pp. 161ff.

37. Verse 6, E.I. XXII, p. 288.

38. URI. I. pp. 159-60.

H.C. Ray³⁹ think that Milacchikāra can not be phonetically the Sanskritized form of Āmir-i-shikar. But Dasaratha Sharma⁴⁰ regards it to be a paisāchī form, as the Muslim ruler and his minister talk with each other in paisāchī. However, the invader, referred to in the Hāmmira-madamardana, was none but Sultan Iltutmish himself.

Date of the Turushka Invasion

It is difficult to ascertain the exact date of Turushka invasion. The Muslim historians do not refer to the invasion of Nāgdā by Iltutmish. It is stated by Firishtā⁴¹ that in the year A.H. 623 (A.D. 1226), Āltimish, (identified with Iltutmish) reduced the fort of Ranathambor and, in the year A.H. 624 (A.D. 1227), that of Māndo and the country of Mālwā. It would not be unreasonable to assume that he overran Mewār sometime between

39. Cf. DHNI. II, p. 1021 fn. 8.

40. Sharma, D, op.cit. p. 655 fn. 2.

41. RMPI. I, p. 118.

A.D. 1226 and A.D. 1227. As the Hāmmiramadamardana, referring to the destruction of Nāgdā by the Muslims, was composed in the year 1229 A.D., the Muslim invasion should have taken place sometime before that date. The invasion of Nāgdā probably took place sometime between A.D. 1226 and A.D. 1227. Śrīvāstava's⁴² view that the ruler of Nāgdā at the time of Iltutmish's invasion was Kshetra singh can hardly be accepted due to chronological difficulties. It is evident from the epigraphic records of the Mahārāṇās of Mewār that Kshetrasiṃha ruled between A.D. 1378 and A.D. 1405, whereas Iltutmish is known to have ruled between A.D. 1211 and A.D. 1236.

Transfer of capital to Chitor

G.H. Ojha⁴³ has put forward the suggestion that after the capture of Nāgdā by Shāmsuddin Iltutmish, the Guhilas transferred their capital to Chitor. That Jaitrasiṃha brought Chitor under his

42. Srivastava, A.L. The Sultanate of Delhi, Agra, 1972, p. 100.

43. URI. I, p. 166.

occupation is evident from the Chirwā Inscription (V.S. 1330). The record informs us that Jaitrasimha appointed Kshema as the talāraksha of the fort of Chitor⁴⁴. Again it is stated in the Kumbhalgarh Inscription⁴⁵ (1460 A.D.) that Jaitrasimha exercised sway over Chitrakūṭa, Āghāṭa, Medapāṭa and Vāgaḍa. The evidences furnished by the Ghāgshā, Chirwā and Mount Ābu Inscriptions, suggest that Jaitrasimha repulsed the attack of the Turushkas after having suffered heavy losses⁴⁶. He was, however, prudent enough to transfer his capital from Nāgdā to Chitor on strategic grounds.

Jaitrasimha's relation with Sultān Nāsiruddin

We come to know from the account of Firishtā that in 646 A.H. (1248-49 A.D.) Jālāluddin, brother of Sultān Nāsiruddin Muhammad, when summoned from Kanauj to Delhi, preferred running away to the hills of Chitor, with all his adherents. The Sultān

44. Verse 22, 'Chirwā Inscription', E.I. XXII, p. 288.

45. Verses 153-154, 3rd slab, E.I. XXIV, pp. 325 ff.

46. Cf. Habibullah, A.M., Foundation of the Muslim Rule in India, Lahore, 1945, p. 100.

pursued him, but, finding he could not be captured, returned to Delhi after the lapse of eight months⁴⁷. The Muslim historian does not refer to the name of the ruler of Chitor or Mewār. The failure of Nāsiruddīn (1246-65 A.D.) to capture Jālāluddīn indicates that the latter was probably given shelter by the king of Mewār, Jaitrasīmha (1213-1252 A.D.). Whether Nāsiruddīn came into conflict with Jaitrasīmha is not clear from the account of Firishtā. But it appears that the relations between the Delhi Sultān (Nāsiruddīn) and Mewār king (Jaitrasīmha) were not friendly. Jaitrasīmha provided political asylum to Jālāluddīn, knowing fully well that his action might incur the displeasure of the Sultan.

Achievements of Jaitrasīmha

Jaitrasīmha struggled hard throughout his
Mewār
reign to bring/to the forefront of Indian politics. In matters of internal administration Jaitrasīmha made his mark by laying the foundation of an

47. RMPI. I, p. 131 ; URI. I, p. 166.

efficient bureaucracy. Mahāmātya Dungārasimha was in charge of Śrī Karaṇa, Mahāmātya Jagatasimha carried all the business of the seal and Kshema was the talāraksha of Chitor. On the whole, the reign of Jaitrasimha (1213-1252 A.D.) forms a glorious period in the annals of early mediaeval Mewār.

Imperial status of the Guhilas

Tejasimha succeeded Jaitrasimha. As it has already been pointed out above, Tejasimha ascended the throne of Mewār sometime before V.S. 1309, (A.D. 1252) the date of the MSS of the Pāksika Vṛtti⁴⁸, His reign-period seems to have continued till A.D. 1267, the last date known from his Chitor Inscription⁴⁹ (V.S. 1324). The high sounding titles and epithets assumed by him indicate his imperial status.

In the Śrāvaka-pratikramana - Sūtra - churni, Tejasimha is styled as Umapativaralabdha Praudha-pratāpa - Samalāṁkṛita Paramabhāṭṭāraka

48. Singhi Jaina Granthamālā, p. 125 No. 18.

49. RMR. 1923, p. 3.

Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara⁵⁰. The Gudelā Tank Stone Inscription⁵¹ (V.S. 1317 or A.D. 1260) also records the victorious reign of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Tejasīmhadeva. The Ghāgshā Stone Inscription dated V.S. 1322 (A.D. 1265) traces the genealogy from Padmasīmha to Tejasīmha⁵². The epigraph also gives an account of the family of Mahājana Ratna belonging to the Dindu family⁵³.

The imperial titles and epithets assumed by the Guhila ruler Tejasīmha deva (1252-1267 A.D.) like those of the Chaulukya rulers might suggest his contest for power with his contemporary vāghelā ruler Viśāladeva (1244-62 A.D.). Umapativaralabdha Praudhapratāpa was originally an epithet used by the Chaulukyas of Gujrāt. In the Kādi Grant⁵⁴ of Viśāladeva dated V.S. 1317 (A.D. 1260) we find the use of same epithet. The contemporaneity of

50. DHNI. II, p. 1190.

51. I.H.Q. 1961, p. 49.

52. Verses 3-8, RMR. 1927, p. 3 ; URI. I, p. 170.

53. Ibid. verses 9-30.

54. I.A. VI, p. 210.

Tejasim̐ha with Viśāladeva is suggested by the Chirwā Inscription⁵⁵ dated V.S. 1330 (A.D. 1273), where it is stated that Ratnaprabha, the composer of the epigraphs, was honoured by both Viśāladeva and Tejasim̐hadeva. Viśāladeva claims to be Medapātadesā - Kaluṣa in the Kādi Grant. The record describes him as "(one) who resembled a hatchet on account of his cutting the roots of the creeper - like turbulent government of the Medapāṭa country". It is, therefore, likely that Tejasim̐ha came into conflict with the ruler of Anahilwārā and was probably defeated by him. The conflict probably took place after the ascendancy of Tejasim̐ha to an imperial status. The use of sovereign titles and Chaulukyān epithets by Tejasim̐ha threw a challenge to the Vāghelā ruler Viśāladeva and the latter invaded Mewār to punish the former.

Tejasim̐ha was involved in hostilities with Balban, the wāzir of Sultān Nāsiruddīn Muhammad of Delhi. In 651 A.H. (1253-54 A.D.) Balban lost the confidence of his master and retired to Nāgaur. We

55. Verse 48, E.I. XXII, p. 288.

come to know from the account of Minhājuddīn Sirāj⁵⁶ that about this time Balban led the arms of Islam towards the territories of Ranathambhor, Bundi and Chitrur (Chitor). The details of this expedition are not recorded in the account of Minhājuddīn. In A.H. 653 (1255-56 A.D.) Sultān Nāsiruddīn had some personal quarrel with his mother Mulikā Jehān, who, after the death of Iltutmish, married Saifuddīn Qutlugh Khān, a noble of the court. Nāsiruddīn, in order to remove her mother from Delhi, conferred on her husband (step - father of Nāsiruddīn) the government of Oudh. Qutlugh Khān being dissatisfied with the arrangement, revolted. As the Wāzīr (Balban) marched against him, Qutlugh Khān fled and took shelter in the fort of Chitor. Balban destroyed the fort but, being unable to capture him, returned to Delhi⁵⁷. This incident is probably referred to in the Chirwā Inscription⁵⁸ dated V.S. 1330 (A.D. 1273) where it is stated that Ratna, son of Kshema, was killed along with

56. Tabaqat-I-Nāsiri, II, pp. 827-88.

57. RMPI. I, pp. 133-34.

58. Verse 22, E.I. XXII, p. 288.

Bhīmasīmha in a battle fought at the foot of the fort of Chitor. It is likely that the forces of Mewār put up a successful defence and forced the Muslim invaders to retreat.

The names of the two queens of Tejasīmha were Jayatallādevī and Rupādevī. Jayatalladevī, the mother of Samarasīmha, the son and successor of Tejasīmha, is said to have built the temple of Śhyāmā Pārsvanātha at Chitor⁵⁹. Rupādevī was the daughter of Chāchigadeva (1262-68), the Chauhān ruler of Jālor, known from Budtara Step Well Inscription⁶⁰ dated V.S. 1340 (A.D. 1273) found in Mewār. It is probable that after the death of her husband Rupādevī shifted to Mārwar.

Five coins of Tejasīmha have been discovered⁶¹. Of these, three are made of copper and two are of copper plated silver⁶². On these coins, the

59. URI. I, p. 169 ; RMR. 1923, p. 3.

60. E.I. IV, pp. 313-14.

61. JNST. XX, (1955), pt. I, pp. 26 ff.

62. Singhal, C.R., 'Some new coins from Jaipur',
JNST. XX (1958), pt. I, p. 48.

legend occurring before the bust of the king is Śrī Te. It appears to be an abbreviated form of the name of Tejasimha.

Guhila - Turuska Struggle

Tejasimha was succeeded by Samarasimha. A large number of epigraphic records are known for the reign of Samarasimha. Those epigraphic records are the Chirwā Inscription⁶³ dated V.S. 1330 (A.D. 1273), the Chitor Stone Inscription⁶⁴ dated V.S. 1331 (A.D. 1274), the Chitor Stone Inscription⁶⁵ dated V.S. 1335 (A.D. 1278), the Mount Ābu Inscription⁶⁶ dated V.S. 1342 (A.D. 1285), the Chitor Stone Inscription⁶⁷ dated V.S. 1344 (A.D. 1287), the Dāribā Stone Inscription⁶⁸ dated V.S. 1356 (A.D. 1299), the Chitor Stone

63. E.I. XXII, p. 288.

64. I.A. XXII, p. 80.

65. RMR. 1923, p. 3.

66. I.A. XVI, p. 347.

67. RMR. 1923, p. 3.

68. RMR. 1927, p. 3.

Inscription⁶⁹ dated V.S. 1358 (A.D. 1301) and another Chitor Inscription⁷⁰ without date.

From the above records it is evident that Samarasimha ruled for a long period of 28 years between A.D. 1273 and A.D. 1301. As Tejasimha's reign ended in A.D. 1267 and was followed by that of Samarasimha, it is not unreasonable to assume that Samarasimha might have begun his political career as a Yuvarāja ruling conjointly with his father. It is learnt from the Mount Abu Inscription⁷¹ dated V.S. 1342 (A.D. 1285) that "Samarasimha acting like the Primeval Boar, lifted the Gurjara land out of the Turuska ocean". The struggle against the Muslims might have taken place sometime before the date of the Inscription dated A.D. 1285 referring to the contest. The Turuska who invaded Gujrāt is to be identified

69. RMR. 1921, p. 1.

70. JASB. LV. pt. I. p. 18.

71. Verse 46, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

with Ghiyāsuddin Balban (1266-87 A.D.), the then Sultān of Delhi⁷². The evidence of the Mount Ābu Inscription indicates that the Mewār ruler, forgetting hereditary rivalry, fought jointly with the Gujrāt ruler against the Sultān of Delhi. The contemporary Gujrāt ruler was probably Vāghelā Saraṅgadeva (1275-95 A.D.). The Muslim historians are silent regarding any invasion of Gujrāt during his reign. But Barāni states that "when some courtiers urged Ghiyāsuddin Balban to conquer Gujrāt, Mālava and other provinces, the Sultān replied that he had a desire to do more than that but had no intention of exposing Delhi to the fate of Bāghdād"⁷³. The setting up of the inscription at Mount Ābu in A.D. 1285 by Samarasimha indicates that Mt. Ābu

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72. 'Chirwā Inscription', V.S. 1330 (A.D. 1272),
E.I. XXII, p. 288 ; vide, Banerjee, A.C.,
'Struggle between Delhi and Mewar in the 13th
century', D.R. Bhandarkar Volume, p. 89.
73. Barāni Ziauddin, 'Tārīkh-I-Fīroz Shāhī',
HIED. III, p. 102.

was under his possession. A.K. Mazumdar⁷⁴ suggests that Samarasimha's boast of having saved Gujrat from the Turuskas in the Mount Abu Inscription indicates that Abu was considered at that time a part of Gujrat. Mazumdar further points out that the occupation of Abu was probably the price he expected Sarangadeva of Gujrat to pay for his assistance in repulsing the invasion. But the Patnarayana Inscription⁷⁵ shows that in A.D. 1287, Abu was under Paramara Pratapasimha and Visala. The latter also took part in defeating the Turuskas and held Abu upto A.D. 1293⁷⁶. Whatever that might be, for at least two years (1285-87 A.D.), Samarasimha seems to have remained the master of Abu. Samarasimha's military success against the Turuskas is indicated by the Kumbhalgarh Inscription⁷⁷ (1460 A.D.) stating that Samarasimha got the imperial fortune (Samrajyalakshmi) by seizing the lands belonging to others.

74. Mazumdar, A.K., The Chaulukyas of Gujrat, Bombay, 1956, p. 184.

75. I.A. XLV, p. 77.

76. PO. III, pp. 69-73.

77. E.I. XXIV, p. 326.

During the reign of Samarasimha (1273-1301 A.D.), Mewār was probably invaded by Chāhamāna Hāmmira of Ranathambhor. We are told by the Hāmmira Mahākāvya, composed by Nayachandra, that Hāmmira, in course of his campaign, first invaded Mālhwā. From there he proceeded to Chitrakūṭa (Chitor) and, after ravaging Medapāṭa (Mewār), reached Mount Ābu⁷⁸. Dasaratha Sharma has rightly pointed out that a better policy on his part would have been to win over Samarasimha to his own side to tackle Alāuddin Khalji, (1296-1316 A.D.) the then imperialist Sultān of Delhi. But Hāmmira seems to have been incapable of such foresight⁷⁹.

Jinaprabha, the Jaina author, in his Tirthakalpa refers to a conflict between Ulugh Khan, brother of Sultān Alāuddin Khalji, and Samarasimha in V.S. 1356 (A.D. 1299). We are told by the Jaina author that the Guhila king Samarasimha saved Mewār by punishing Ulugh Khān. The original lines in the work are as follows⁸⁰ :-

78. Hāmmira Mahākāvya, IX, 15-27 ; DHNI. II, p.1099.

79. Sharma, D, Rajasthan Through the Ages vol.I, Bikaner, 1966, p. 662.

80. 'Satya Pura Kalpa' in Tirthakalpa p. 95.
Quoted in URI. I, p. 173.

Aha 1356 Vikrama barshe Alāuddin Surata-
nama Kanīṣṭha bhāyā Ulu Khān nāmadhijja Dillipura
māngti mahabaperik Gurjara-dharang patthio.
Chitrakutahibaye Samarasimha dandam Mevādadeśa
rokhie.

The meaning of the word 'dandam' are taken by scholars differently. G.H. Ojha⁸¹ and G.C. Roychaudhuri⁸² have taken the word in the sense of 'punishment'. But Dasaratha Sharma⁸³ and H.C. Ray⁸⁴ have interpreted of the word to mean 'tribute' or 'homage'. It has been suggested by Sharma that "Samarasimha saved himself not by fighting against but giving tribute to Ulugh Khān". Ray opines that "Samarasimha saved his country from devastation by doing homage to Ulugh Khān".

81. URI. I, p. 172.

82. HM. p. 60.

83. Sharma, D, Rajasthan Through the Ages, vol.I,
Bikaner, 1966, p. 662.

84. DHNI. II, p. 1195.

The Kanhadade - Prabandha⁸⁵ mentions that "on being refused the passage through Mārwar Ālu Khan got it through Mewār from its ruler Samarasimha".

If we accept the version of Kanhadade - Prabandha, the word 'dandam' may be interpreted to mean "tribute". As pointed out by D. Sharma⁸⁶, "the use of the word 'danda' in the sense of 'tribute' is common enough in Rājasthān". But the hostile relations between Mewār rulers and Delhi Sultāns throughout the thirteenth century are evident from different sources. Therefore, Samarasimha's conflict with Ulugh Khān and the punishment (dandam) given to the latter by the former are not unreasonable assumptions. Alāuddin Khalji later invaded Chitor as a measure of retaliation for the disgraceful defeat of his brother.

It was sometime after Ulugh Khān's invasion that the koṭwāl of Delhi pointed out to Alāuddin

85. Sharma, D., op.cit. p. 663.

86. Sharma, D., op.cit. p. 663.

the necessity of subjugating Chitor as well as other places such as Ranathambhor, Chanderi, Mālwā, Dhār and Ujjain⁸⁷. But, before Alāuddin's invasion of Chitor, Samarasimha was succeeded by Ratanasimha in 1302 A.D.

Two coins of Ratanasimha have been discovered^{87A}. The first one is of copper-plated silver and the second is of copper. Śrī Ra is inscribed on both the coins, before the bust of the king in Nāgari scripts of the 13th-14th century A.D. Ra is taken to suggest the name of Ratanasimha.

Fall of Chitor

For Ratanasimha's reign, we have only one record that is, the Dārībā Temple Inscription⁸⁸ dated V.S. 1359 (A.D. 1302) found at Dārībā in Mewār. It was during the reign of Ratanasimha, (1302-1303 A.D.) that Chitor was invaded by

87. Ziauddin Barāni, 'Tārīkh-I-Fīroz Śhāhī',

HI ED. III, p. 171.

87A. JNSI. XX, pt. I. pp. 26 ff.

88. RMR. 1927, p. 3.

Alāuddin Khalji. The motive behind the invasion of Chitor must have been political , although there might have been strategic and economic reasons also. The fort of Chitor attracted the attention of the Delhi Sultāns from the beginning of the 13th century A.D. due to its strategic importance. The Banās valley in Mewār provided a good route from Delhi to Gujrāt.

It has been stated in the Padmāvat, the ĀIN-I-Ākbari, the Tārīkh-I-Firishtā, the Khyāta of Nainsi, the Rājaprasasti Mahākāvya and Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (these works were composed from the 16th to the 19th century A.D.) that the reason behind the invasion of Chitor was Alāuddin Khalji's infatuation for queen Padminī⁸⁹. Āmir Khasru, who accompanied the Sultān on his expedition and was present during the time of the siege of Chitor, has made no mention of it in the Khājāin-ul-Futuh. Ziāuddin Barāni, the author of Tārīkh-I-Firoz Shahī, also does not refer to any such consideration that influenced the mind of the Sultān.

89. HM. p. 61.

Historicity of Ratanasimha

K.R. Qanungo⁹⁰, while discussing the historicity of the Padminī episode, has questioned the identification of Ratanasimha. It is pointed out by him that history reveals not only one Ratanasimha, but four rulers of the same name. They are the following :

- 1) Ratanasimha, son of, Samarasimha, who is mentioned in the Kumbhalgarh Inscription⁹¹ (1460 A.D.),
- 2) Ratnasena, son of Chitrasena and husband of Padminī⁹², mentioned in the Padmāvat of Mālik Muhammad Jāyasi,
- 3) Ratna, son of Kshema, who died in his attempt to protect the town of Chitor⁹³.

90. Qanungo, K.R. Studies in Rajput History,
Delhi, 1960, pp. 12-13.

91. Verse 176. E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

92. URI. I, p. 183.

93. Verse 22, 'Chirwā Ins. of V.S. 1330' (A.D. 1273),
E.I. XXII, p. 288.

- 4) Ratna, son of Hāmmira Chauhān of Ranathambhor, who, after the fall of Ranathambhor, sought refuge at Chitor⁹⁴.

Qanungo seems to have been confused by the idea that the four Ratanasimhas referred to above, stood for one and the same ruler. Ratanasimha, son of Samarasimha, known from the Kumbhalgarh Inscription (1460 A.D.) and Ratnasena, referred to in the Padmāvat of Jāyasī, most probably stood for the same person. Jāyasī has confused Ratnasena as the son of Chitrasena. Ratanasimha, the husband of Padminī, was the son of Samarasimha of Mewār. Ratna, son of Kshema, was the talāraksha of the fort of Chitor. That he expired much before is evident from the Chirwā Inscription (V.S. 1330 (A.D. 1273)). That Ratanasimha, son of Hāmmira Chauhān of Ranathambhor, sought refuge at the fort of Chitor is known from a Rājput tradition⁹⁵. Whatever might be the number of Ratanasimhas, there is no reason to doubt the historicity of Guhila ruler Ratanasimha, son of Samarasimha.

94. DHNI. II, p. 1102 fn. I.

95. DHNI. II, p. 1102 fn. I; I.H.O. 1931, p. 291.

Qanungo has also questioned the identification of Chitor mentioned in the Padmāvat. He has suggested that Chitor mentioned by Jāyasi is to be located in the Bandā district of the U.P.⁹⁶. But in the Padmāvat, there is not only the reference to Chitor but also its neighbouring place Kumbhalgarh⁹⁷. Therefore, Chitor, referred to by Jāyasī, is to be located in Mewār.

Padminī Episode

Poet Mālik Muhammad Jāyasī wrote in the Padmāvat (A.D. 1540) that Alāuddin invaded Chitor to obtain the possession of Padminī. It appears that Alāuddin was infatuated by the beauty of Padminī. It is stated that "Padminī was the princess of Ceylon and Ratanasimha, the king of Chitor, having learnt about the beauty of Padminī from a parrot, went to Ceylon in the garb of a mendicant to woo her. After twelve years, taking

96. Qanungo, K.R., Studies in Rajput History, Delhi, 1960, pp. 18-19.

97. 'Chitorgarh aur Kumbhalnera. Saje duno jaisa Sumera', Padmāvat, Chap. XXXII, p. 335.

her with him, he came back to Chitor. Rāghava, a mendicant, while taking alms from Padminī, was charmed by her beauty and told about it to the Sultān of Delhi. Alāuddin sent a message to Ratanasīmha, asking him to send Padminī to the royal harem. When his demand was rejected by the king, Alāuddin laid siege to the fortress of Chitor"⁹⁸. According to a different tradition, Padminī was a Chauhān princess and not a Ceylonese princess⁹⁹.

Actually, there exists no contemporary or later Rājput records of dependable character to throw clear light on this particular episode and much of the information continued to be preserved only through oral traditions and folk-ballads. It is believed in Rājputānā that Alāuddin, having heard about the incomparable beauty of Padminī, the married wife of Ratanasīmha of Mewar, and also having a lust for conquest, laid the siege of the fort of Chitor. The Rājputs bravely

98. Lal, K.S., History of the Khaljis, Allahabad, 1950, p. 121.

99. M.L. Mathur describes the tradition, where Padminī is mentioned as the Chauhān Princess, I.H.Q. XXVII, pp. 52-53.

defended themselves and the Sultān, being wearied at length with a long and fruitless siege, opened negotiations, requesting that he might be permitted for once to see fair Padminī, only through the medium of a mirror. His request was granted. Alāuddin entered the fort, saw the face of Padminī in the mirror and left. The king showed courtesy, came out of the gate, was betrayed into captivity and was offered his freedom in exchange of his beautiful queen. This was, no doubt, a challenge to the Rājput honour and prestige. The Rājputs devised a plan to send Gorā and Bādal, in disguise of the queen and her hand-maid. This plan worked successfully and the king was rescued. But he could not succeed to return to the fort and was slain. The place was, however, held for about six months. A tradition suggests that Rānā Lakshmanasimha continued to hold up the defence operations for some days more, till he fell fighting along with seven of his brave sons. At last, the fort was captured and Padminī with other women performed the rite of Jauhar.

The Muhammedan writers of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries do not refer to Padminī, the

Sultān's lust for her and Rājā's treacherous arrest and rescue. That is the reason why modern writers consider 'Padminī episode' as unhistorical. According to them, it is nothing but a literary concoction and 'a myth of allegorical nature' first described by Mālik Muhammad Jāyasī in his Padmāvat¹⁰⁰.

M. Habib, A.L. Srivastava, S. Roy and S.C. Dutt see a covert allusion to the Padminī episode in Āmir Khasru's Khāzain-ul-Futuh referring to the queen of Shebā. It has been observed by Dutt¹⁰¹ that "the analogy between Alāuddin's operations against Chitor and Solomon's expedition (Solomon was the king of Ethiopiā) against the land of Shebā would be justified, if Bilquis of Shebā had a prototype in Chitor".

100. Qanungo, K.R., 'A critical study of the Padminī legend' and Lal, K.S., 'Myth of Rājā Padminī and Alāuddin Khalji' in Bulletion of the Nagpur University Historical Society, No. I. Oct. 1946.

101. I.H.Q. VII. p. 297. For the story of Solomon and Shebā, vide JIH, 1929, pp. 370-371.

It has been suggested by Dasaratha Sharma that "Solomon insisted on the surrender of beautiful Bilquis, Alauddin also did the same, that is, the surrender of lovely queen Padmini of Mewar. So there may be some truth in the story, though everything of the story need not be true"¹⁰².

The Chhitāicharita, which was written at Sarangpur in Mālwa nearly 15 years before the Padmāvat, that is, in A.D. 1526, throws some light on the episode of Padmāvatī. In this text Alāuddin is found to have addressed his trusted Councillor Raghochetana the following words :

"Samarsi has got out of the fort and reached some other part of the country. This has greatly upset me. I went to Ranathambhor to have Deval. But I had no success. I heard of Padmini at Chitor. I went and captured Ratansi, but he was rescued by Badal"¹⁰³.

102. Sharma, D., Rajasthan Through the Ages, vol. I, Bikaner, 1966, pp. 664-65.

103. Ibid. pp. 665-66.

In both the Chhitāicharita and the Padmāvat Padminī's husband is referred to as Ratnasena, who was captured by Alāuddin Khalji and rescued by Bādal. It is difficult to consider Padminī as a creation of poetic imagination of Jāyasī. But, at the same time, it would be unreasonable to hold that Alāuddin invaded Mewār for the sake of Padminī. Alāuddin probably knew nothing about Padminī, when embarked upon his military expedition from Delhi.

We are told by Āmir Khasru that in "A.H. 703 (August 1303 A.D.) the fort of Chitor was taken by the forces of Alāuddin Khalji. The Rāi fled, but afterwards surrendered himself.....
.....
After ordering a massacre of thirty thousand Hindus Alāuddin bestowed the government of Chitor upon his son Khijir Khān and named the place as Khijrābād. He bestowed on him a red canopy, a robe embroidered with gold and two standards ----- one green and another black, and threw upon him rubies

and emeralds. He then returned to Delhi"¹⁰⁴.

There are some discrepancies in the accounts of the historians in regard to the fate of Ratana-simha. According to Āmir Khasru's account, the Rānā was spared by the Sultān. This is corroborated by Isami¹⁰⁵. Nainsi says, that Ratanasimha died fighting against Sultān Alāuddin¹⁰⁶. Tod suggests that the ruling prince was Bheemsi who was killed in the battle-field¹⁰⁷.

Ziāuddin Barāni¹⁰⁸ gives a brief account of the Sultān's conquest of Chitor. It is only stated by him that the Sultān led an army and laid siege to Chitor which he took it in a short time and returned home.

104. Āmir Khasru, 'Tārīkh-I-Ālāi', HIED. III, pp. 76-77. vide, also M. Habib's Trans of Khājāin-ul-Futuh, pp. 47-48.

105. Khājāin-ul-Futuh, p. 272.

106. Khyāta, I. p. 21.

107. AR. I, pp. 311-12.

108. 'Tārīkh-I-Firoz Shāhī', HIED. III, p. 189.

Firishta⁻¹⁰⁹ states that Alāuddin himself marched towards Chitor and after a siege of six months, Chitor was reduced in the year A.H. 703 and the government of it was conferred on the king's eldest son, prince Khijir Khān.

It is stated by Tod¹¹⁰ that Lakumsi (probably identical with Lakshmanasimha) succeeded his father in S. 1331 (A.D. 1275), a memorable era in the annals of Mewār, when Chitor was stormed and sacked by the Pāthān emperor Alāuddin. Twice it was attacked. In the first siege, it escaped spoliation although at the price of its best defenders. That which followed was the first successful assault and capture, of which we have any detailed account. Tod further suggests that Bheemsi (Bhīmasimha) was the uncle of the young prince and protector during his minority. He had espoused the daughter of Hāmmir Sank (Chohān) of Ceylon whose name was Padminī. The Hindu bard recognizes the fair beauty in preference to fame and love of conquest, as the motive for the

109. Briggs John, RMPI. I, p. 201.

110. AR. I, pp. 281-83.

attack of Alāuddin, who limited his demand to the possession of Padminī though this was after a long and protracted seige.

While Tod refers to Bheemsi, the Rānā at the time of the invasion of Alāuddin was Ratana-simha. This name (Ratanasimha) is also found in the Khyāta, the Āin-I-Ākbarī and in the account of Firishtā. The annals refer to the siege of the fort of Chitor in A.D. 1290, but it actually happened sometime in A.D. 1303¹¹¹. That Ratanasimha was on the throne of Mewār in A.D. 1302 is proved by the Dāribā Temple Inscription¹¹².

Motive behind Alāuddin's invasion

After the conquest of Rānathambhor in A.D. 1301, Alāuddin turned towards Chitor in A.H. 701-702 that is in A.D. 1302-1303, to fulfil his imperialistic ambition. He could not forget the punishment given to his brother Ulugh Khān by

111. 'Tārīkh-I-Ālāī', HIED. III, pp. 76-77.

112. RMR. 1927, p. 3.

Samarasīmha, the ruler of Mewār. Strategic as well as economic reasons also can not be ignored. Mewār lay in the midway of the route between Delhi and Gujrāt. Sultān's infatuation for the beauty of Padminī was not probably the reason behind his invasion of Chitor. Jāyasī derived the story of Padminī from the poet Bain¹¹³. It may, therefore, be held that the episode was mainly based on tradition. We have hardly any evidence from contemporary records to suggest that Alāuddin undertook Chitor expedition with the sole motive to obtain the possession of Padminī. According to Jāyasī, Padminī was the queen, while according to Firishtā, she was the daughter of Ratan. Later writers copied the Padminī episode from the Padmāvat.

The seige of Chitor continued from six to eight months, after which Alāuddin was able to capture it. The brave and indomitable Rājputs fought and died like heroes. The brave Rājput women probably including Ratanasīmha's queen Padminī,

113. 'Kathā ārambha Baina Kabi Kathā', Padmāvat, p.1.

performed the rite of Jahar¹¹⁴. However, the fall of Chitor marked the decline of the Guhilas. Ratanasimha failed to uphold the power of the Guhilas that had been consolidated by the military genius and statesmanship of Jaitrasimha, Tejasimha and Samarasimha.

With Ratanasimha, the Rāwāl line of the Guhilas came to an end. But the Rāṇā line of the Guhilas continue to rule during the mediaeval period. The Rāṇās also known as Śeśodīās played a significant role in the political history of North India in the mediaeval period. Chitor was brought back under the occupation of the Rāṇās by the efforts of Hāmmira (1326-1364 A.D.) sometime in A.D. 1336-1337. The date of the re-occupation of Chitor is suggested by the MSS. Rāwāl Rānaji ri Bāt in A.D. 1336¹¹⁵. In the light of this MSS. as well as on the basis of the Kot-Solankiyan Inscription¹¹⁶

114. HM. p. 61.

115. Somani, R.V. op.cit. p. 107.

116. E.I. XI, p. 76.

(V.S. 1394, i.e. A.D. 1337) of Songira Banvir it may be assumed that Hāmmira occupied Chitor in A.D. 1336-1337. Chitor, however, continued to remain the bone of contention between the Rāṇās on the one hand and the rulers of Delhi on the other. The fall of Chitor in the time of Ākbar (A.D. 1556-1605), marked the end of the glorious period in the history of Mewār.

Synchronistic Table (6th to 14th century A.D.)

500 - 600 A.D.

Guhilas	Maukharis	Maitrakas	Later Guptas	Varmanas	Kalachuris	Gurjaras	Puṣyabhūti
1. Guhadatta (566 to 586 A.D.)	Isanavarman (550-576 A.D.) Sarvavarman (576-580 A.D.) Avantivarman (580-600 A.D.)	Guharsena (566-576 A.D.) Dharasena II (571-590 A.D.)	543 Kumāragupta to 589 Dāmodaragupta A.D. Mahāsenagupta	550 Susthitavarman to 600 Suprathisthita- varman. A.D.	----- Śaṅkaragaṇa (595 A.D.)	Harichandra (550-575 A.D.) Kakka (575-600 A.D.)	Pravākarvardhana (580-605 A.D.) Rājyavardhana (605 A.D.)
2. Bhoja (586-606 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	-----			

600 - 700 A.D.

Guhilas	Maukharis	Maitrakas	Later Guptas	Varmanas	Karkoṭas or Nāgas	Puṣyabhūti	Arabs	Māuryas of Mathurā
3. Mahendra (606-626 A.D.)	Grahavarman (605-606 A.D.)	Śilāditya (612 A.D.) Kharagraha (616 A.D.) Dharasena III (623 A.D.)	-----	Bhāskaravarman (1st half of the 7th century A.D.)	-----	Harshavardhana (606-647 A.D.)	-----	Kṛishṇarāja (600-650 A.D.) Chandragupta Āryarāja Karka Dindirāja
4. Nāga (626-646 A.D.)	-----	Dhruvasena II (629-641 A.D.)	-----	-----	Durlabhavardhana (627-663 A.D.)	"	Umar (634-643 A.D.)	
5. Śila (646-661 A.D.)	-----	Dharasena IV (645-650 A.D.)	Devagupta Mādhavagupta (2nd quarter of 7th century A.D.)	-----	-----	"	-----	-----
6. Aparājita (661-680 A.D.)	-----	Śilāditya III (662-682 A.D.)	Ādityasena (672 A.D.)	-----	Durlabhaka (663-713 A.D.)	-----	Alī (663 A.D.)	-----
7. Mahendra II (680-700 A.D.)	-----	Śilāditya IV (690-710 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

700-800 A.D.

Guhilas	Pratihāras	Maitrakas	Rāṣṭrakūṭas	Pālas	Later Mauryas	Tomaras	Arabs	Karkatās or Nāgas	Others
8. Kālabhoja (700-725 A.D.)	-----	Śilāditya V (710-730 A.D.)	-----	-----	Dhavalappa (725 A.D.)	-----	-----	Chandrapīḍa (713-724 A.D.)	Yaśovarman of Kanauj (700-740 A.D.)

Guhilas	Pratihāras	Maitrakas	Rāṣṭrakūṭas	Pālas	Later Mauryas	Tomaras	Arabs	Karkāṭas or Nāgas	Others	
9. Khummāṇa I (700-725 A.D.)	Nāgabhaṭa I (730-756 A.D.)	Śīlāditya VI (730-750 A.D.) Śīlāditya VII (750-766-67 A.D.)	Dantidurga (753 A.D.) Kṛishna I (758-773 A.D.)	Gopāla (750-810 A.D.)	-----	Anangapāla (740 A.D.)	Junaid (724-739 A.D.)	Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa (724-760 A.D.)	Siluka of Māndor Māna Mori of Chitor (A.D. 713)	
10. Mattata (775-800 A.D.)	Vatsarāja (778-815 A.D.)	-----	Govinda II (773-780 A.D.) Dhruva (780-793 A.D.)	Dharmapāla (770-810 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	Chāhamāna Durlabharāja (725-775 A.D.)	
800-900 A.D.										
Guhilas	Pratihāras	Cholas	Rāṣṭrakūṭas	Pālas	Kalachuris	Paramāras	Arabs	Chāhamānas		
11. Bhatṛipaṭṭa I (800-810 A.D.)	-----	-----	Govinda III (793-814 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----		
12. Siṃha (810-825 A.D.)	Nāgabhaṭa (815-833 A.D.)	-----	Amoghavarsha (815-877 A.D.)	Devapāla (810-850 A.D.)	-----	-----	Al-Māmūn (813-833 A.D.)	Govindarāja alias (Guvāka I (775-825 A.D.)		
13. Khummāṇa II (925-875 A.D.)	Rāmbhadra (833-836 A.D.)	Vijayalaya (850-871 A.D.)	-----	-----	Kokkāla - I (825-875 A.D.)	Upendra (849-869 A.D.)	-----	-----		
14. Mahāyaka (875-900 A.D.)	Mihirabhoja (836-885 A.D.)	Āditya I (871-907 A.D.)	Kṛishna II (878-914 A.D.)	Nārāyanapāla (854-908 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	-----		
900 - 1000 A.D.										
Guhilas	Pratihāras	Chandellas	Cholas	Rāṣṭrakūṭas	Pālas	Kalachuris	Paramāras	Ghajnivides	Chāhamānas	Chaulukyas
15. Khummāṇa III (900-925 A.D.)	Mahīpāla (908-940 A.D.)	-----	Parantaka I (907-953 A.D.)	Indra III (914-922 A.D.)	Rājyapāla Gopāla II Vigrahapāla II (908-988 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
16. Bhatṛipaṭṭa II (925-948 A.D.)	Mahendrapāla II (946 A.D.)	-----	-----	Amoghavarsha III (936-939 A.D.)	-----	Yuvarāja I (925 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	-----
17. Allata (948-971 A.D.)	Devapāla II (948 A.D.)	Dhāṅga (954-1002 A.D.)	-----	Kṛishna III (939-967 A.D.)	-----	-----	Harsha alias Siyaka II (948-974 A.D.)	Ālptigin (948-963 A.D.)	Vigraharāja II (973 A.D.)	Mularāja I (941-996 A.D.)
18. Naravāhana (971-974 A.D.)	Vijayapāla (959-989 A.D.)	-----	-----	Khottiga (967-972 A.D.)	-----	-----	Vākpati II alias Munja (974-995 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----

Guhilas	Pratihāras	Chandellas	Cholas	Rāṣṭrakūṭas	Pālas	Kalachuris	Paramāras	Ghajnivides	Chāhamānas	Chaulukyas
19. Śālivāhana (974-977 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	Yuvarāja II (975 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	-----
20. Śaktikumāra (977-988 A.D.)	-----	-----	Rājarāja (985-1014 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	Sabuktigīn (977-997 A.D.)	-----	-----
21. Ambāprasāda (988-1000 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	Mahipāla I (988-1035 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	Vākpatirāja II (1000 A.D.)	-----
<u>1000-1100 A.D.</u>										
Guhilas	Chandellas	Cholas	Chāhamānas	Pālas	Kalachuris	Paramāras	Ghajnivides	Chaulukyas	Senas	
22. Śuchivarman (1000-1010 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	Mahmud (998-1030 A.D.)	-----	-----	
23. Naravarman (1010-1020 A.D.)	Vidyādhara (1019 A.D.)	Rājendra I (1014-1044 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	Bhoja (1010-1055 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	
24. Anantavarman (1020-1030 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	"	-----	Bhīma I (1022-1064 A.D.)	-----	
25. Yaśovarman (1030-1040 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	Nayapāla (1038-1055 A.D.)	Gāṅgeyadeva (1030-1041 A.D.)	"	-----	-----	-----	
26. Yogarāja (1040-1050 A.D.)	-----	Rājādhirāja I (1044-1052 A.D.)	-----	Lakshmīkarna (1041-1070 A.D.)	-----	"	-----	-----	-----	
<u>1000-1100 A.D.</u>										
Guhilas	Chandellas	Cholas	Chāhamānas	Pālas	Kalachuris	Paramāras	Ghajnivides	Chaulukyas	Senas	
27. Vairāṭa (1050-1060 A.D.)	Devavarman (1051 A.D.)	Rājendra II (1052-1062 A.D.)	Durlabharāja III (1059 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	
28. Haṁsapāla (1060-1070 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	Vigrahapāla III (1055 A.D.)	-----	Jayasīma I (1055-1060 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	
29. Vairisīma (1070-1080 A.D.)	-----	Kulottunga I (1070-1120 A.D.)	-----	Mahipāla II (1070 A.D.)	Yaśakarna (1073-1125 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	
30. Vijayasīma (1083-1116 A.D.)	Kīrtivarman (1098 A.D.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	Udayāditya (1060-1087 A.D.)	-----	Siddharāja Jayasīma (1094-1144 A.D.)	Hemantasena (1075-1095 A.D.)	

1000-1200 .A.D.

[illegible]

1200-1300 A.D.

Guhilas	Chandellas	Chaulukyas	Chāhamānas	Paramaras	Senas	Vāgnelās	Turuskas (Sultans of Delhi)	Cholas
40. Jaitrasimha (1213-1251 A.D.)	-----	Tribhuvanapāla	Udayasimha (Jālor) (1206-1249 A.D.)	Arjunavarman (1211-1215 A.D.)	Viśvarupasena (1205 A.D.)	Viśaladeva (1244-1262 A.D.)	Iltutmish (1211-1236 A.D.) Nāsiruddin (1246-1265 A.D.)	Rājarāja III (1216-1246 A.D.)
41. Tejasimha (1252-1267 A.D.)	-----	-----	Chāchigadeva(Jālor) (1262-1268 A.D.)	Devapāla (1218-1232 A.D.)	-----	Saraṅgadeva (1275-1295 A.D.)	Ghiyāsuddin Balban (1266-1287 A.D.)	Rājendra III (1246-1279 A.D.)
42. Samarasimha (1273-1301 A.D.)	Bhojavarman (1288 A.D.)	-----	Sāmantasimha (1282-1298 A.D.)	Jaitugideva (1236-1243 A.D.) Jayavarman or Jayasimha II (1254-1296 A.D.)	Kesāvasena (1245-1260 A.D.)	-----	Alāuddin Khalji (1296-1316 A.D.)	-----

1300 - 1400 A.D.

Guhilas	Chāhamānas	Turuskas (Sultans of Delhi)
43. Ratnasimha (1302-1303 A.D.)	Hammira (1301 A.D.)	Alāuddin Khalji (1296-1316 A.D.)

Chapter - VIII

Guhila Administration

Although there is dearth of material, an outline of Guhila administration may be drawn in the light of available records mainly epigraphic. As in the political history, so also in the administrative history, the data culled from epigraphic records may be corroborated or supplemented by the bardic tradition recorded in some contemporary literary texts. The epigraphic records belonging to the main branch as well as collateral branches of the Guhilas may be used along with those belonging to contemporary dynasties. It would not be unreasonable to compare and contrast the official designations, referred to in the early records of the Guhilas, with those found in their mediaeval records. An in-depth study of the records at our disposal tends to show that the Guhilas set up an administrative structure that reflects traditional centralized bureaucratic pattern accommodating the semi-

independent status of the sāmantas and local self-Government within the structure of provincial administrative system.

Position of the King

The Guhila government was monarchical in form. The Guhila rulers held the titles Nṛipa, Narapati, Rāja, Rāwāl or Rāula, Rāuta, Rājakūla, Mahārāja and sometime, when they enjoyed full-fledged independent status, the epithets, Mahārājā-dhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhattāraka. In the Sāmoli Inscription (A.D. 646), Śīlāditya is described as Narapati Śīlāditya¹. Śīlāditya's successor Aparājita used the title Rāja or Rājan in the Nāgdā Inscription (A.D. 661)². Bāppā is called a Rāwāl³. Uddharaṇa of Naḍulaḍāgika branch is entitled Rāuta in the Nādlai Inscription (1132-45 A.D.)⁴. Again, Rāhapa and his descendants

1. Verse 5, E.I. XX, p. 97.

2. Verses 3-4, E.I. IV, pp. 31-32.

3. AR. I. p. 246 ; Samarasimha is also styled 'Rāwāl', E.I. XXIV, verse 160, pp. 304ff.

4. E.I. XI, pp. 36-37.

are styled as Rānās and Mahārānās. For example, Rāhapa, Narapati, Dinakarna are styled Rānās, while Lakshmanasimha, Hammira and Kumbhakarna alias Kumbhā assumed the title Mahārānā⁵. We are told by the Partābgarh Inscription of Mahendrapāla II (946 A.D.) that Bhartripatṭa II assumed the title Mahārājādhirāja⁶. Vijayasimha, Jaitrasimha and Tejasimha held the imperial epithets, Paramesvara, Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja⁷.

The Rājput rulers of early mediaeval period had inherited the administrative tradition of the Guptas. They believed in the divinity of kingship and the position of the king was hereditary in nature. The law of primogeniture was in vogue. In the Kadmal Plates dated V.S. 1140 (A.D. 1083), Mahipāla is represented as the son of Allata⁸. But all other important records like the

5. DHNI. II, p. 1209 ; 'Kumbhalgarh Inscription' (1460 A.D.), verse 177, E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

6. E.I. XIV, p. 177.

7. Bhāv. Ins. p. 47 ; I.A. VI, p. 210 ; DHNI. II, p. 1190.

8. Verse 6, E.I. XXXI, p. 237.

Ātpour Inscription⁹ (A.D. 977) and the Chitor Inscription¹⁰ (A.D. 1274) mention that Naravāhana, the son of Allāṭa, ascended the throne of Mewār after his father. The Mount Ābu Inscription¹¹ dated V.S. 1342 (A.D. 1285) and the Kumbhalgarh Inscription dated V.S. 1517 (A.D. 1460) also suggest that Naravāhana was the successor of Allāṭa on the throne of Mewār¹². It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suggest that although Mahipāla was the brother of Naravāhana, the latter, being the elder, succeeded on the throne of Mewār, while the former being the younger was given a small jāigir elsewhere. The second example is derived from the Ekalinganāhātmya. We are told that from the time of Raṇasīmha alias Karna the Guhilas were divided into two branches, Rāwāl and Rānā. Kshemasīmha, being the elder son of Raṇasīmha, became the ruler of Mewār with the title Rāwāl, while Rāhapa, being the younger, was given a jāigir and became the founder of the Śeśodā line

9. Verse 6, I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

10. Verse 42, Bhāv. Ins., p. 75.

11. Verse 21, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

12. Verses 141-142, E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

with the title of Rāṇā¹³. The third example is that after Kshemasimha, his elder son Sāmantasimha ascended the throne of Mewār. Later, his brother Kumārasimha became the ruler of Mewār¹⁴. The fourth example is derived from the bardic tradition. It is recorded in the tradition that Lakshamaṇasimha alias Lakumsi was succeeded by his elder son Arisimha alias Arsi¹⁵. The Law of primogeniture appears to have been abided by uniformly.

There were other factors like the nomination, the will of the Chief Queen, the approval of the nobles, the selection by the people, the royal birth and character of the prince, which determined succession. The succession was not always limited within the direct line. In a grant of a Guhila ruler of Kiṣkindhā, we find mention of two rulers, Devagaṇa and Bhāvihita. The former is described as the 'Pitṛivya' of the latter. Obviously, Devagaṇa was succeeded by his nephew Bhāvihita¹⁶. From the bardic tradition it is learnt that Ajayasimha nominat

13. Ekalingamāhātmya, verse 50 ; URI.I.pp.142-43 ;
UDG. p. 33.

14. Verse 150, 'Kumbhalgarh Inscription' (1460 A.D.),
E.I. XXIV. pp. 304 ff.

15. URI, p. 208 ; DHNI.II. p. 1205.

16. Line 11, 'Grant of Bhāvihita' (H.E. 48), E.I. XXXIV.
p. 170.

Hāmmira, his nephew, as his successor depriving his own sons. Chunda resigned his right of succession to his younger brother Mokāl¹⁷. Mahārāṇā Udaisimha nominated Jagmal as his successor but the nobles of Mewār rejected him and Pratāp was placed on the throne of Mewār¹⁸. Prince Udā killed Rāṇā Kumbhā to get the throne, but the Rājputs of Mewār did not accept him and Rājmal, the younger son, was anointed as the king¹⁹. The selection of the king by the people is also learnt from the bardic tradition. As it has been observed by Tod, "the Bhils having determined in sport to elect a king, the choice fell on Goha and one of the young savages cutting his finger applied the blood as the teekā of sovereignty to his forehead"²⁰. This process of selection is hardly found in other cases. Again, if a ruler died heirless without any close relative like brother or cousin to succeed him, his distant relatives were considered for succession.

The king enjoyed legislative, executive and judicial powers. He was the supreme chief of the armed

17. URI. I. p. 265.

18. Vir vinod. II. p. 145.

19. Khyāta, I.p. 17.

20. AR. I. p. 238.

forces, the soldiers might act under the leadership of the general appointed by the king²¹. The king could make war or peace. He appointed ministers and other officials who served him as long as he desired. Every order of the state was issued in his name. He was the chief of the court of justice ; justice was administered in his name. He could promulgate any law he thought good for the State²².

The Guhila kings generally waged war against their adversaries under their own leadership. We are told by the Mount Ābu Inscription of v.s. 1342 (A.D. 1285) that "the country which was in battle totally submerged in the dripping fat (meda) of wicked people by Bappaka ... bears the name Śrī Medapāṭa"²³. The Chitor Inscription dated v.s. 1331 (A.D. 1274) informs us that "Bhartri-paṭṭa's cloud-like sword of thick and shining black lustre while pouring showers on the heads of enemies in the battlefields should have washed away the thick dust of sindura from the simanta of the wives of his enemies"²⁴. The Sāmoli Inscription (A.D. 646) yields the information

21. 'Nāgdā Inscription' (A.D. 661), E.I. IV pp. 31-32.

22. cf. Sharma, G.C., Administrative System of the Rajputs, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 2-3-

23. Verse 7, I.A. XVI. p. 347.

24. Verse 29, Bhāv. Ins., p. 75.

that Śīla was the conqueror of his foes²⁵.
Instances are also available that sometimes,
senādhyaksha or leader of the forces led the
army of the king in the battle-field. For example,
Aparājita's leader of forces, Varāhasimha assailed
the vile adversaries²⁶.

The king appointed various important civil
and administrative officers and transferred them, at
his own discretion, from one place to another. The
king conferred titles and other distinctions for
their meritorious service. For instance, Varāhasimha
was conferred the title of Mahārāja, although he
was actually the pradhān senāpati or senādhyaksha
of Aparājita²⁷. The king was the highest judge and
lord of the state exchequer.

Bhavabhūti mentions that a king should be
gifted with virtues and merits²⁸. According to

25. Verses 4-5, E.I. XX. p. 97.

26. Verses 3-4, 'Nāgdā Inscription' (A.D. 661),
E.I. IV, pp. 31-32.

27. 'Nāgdā Inscription' (A.D. 661), E.I. IV, pp. 31-32.

28. MVC. IV, p. 150.

Kāmandaka, a king should belong to a noble family, that is, Prakhyāta Vamśa. The Guhila kings in their epigraphic records always take pride in their a noble birth and glorify their Vamśa²⁹. The Guhila kings also possessed all kinds of virtues and merits which were evident from their epigraphic records³⁰. The function of 'Prajārakshana' that is 'protection of the subjects; both from internal disturbances and external aggression, was discharged effectively by the Guhila rulers, for which they were worshipped by the people like gods. The undated Hastanāta Temple Inscription³¹ of Śūchivarman tells us that "the king was worshipped like the sun".

The Guhila kings respected the Brāhmaṇas and sages and gave them high status in society. The Guhila kings used to donate lands liberally to the Brāhmaṇas for the religious merit of their ancestors and to gain Puṇya for themselves. The Grant of Bhatti³² (H.E. 73) purports to record the

29. E.I. XXIII, pp. 234-237; Bhāv. Ins., p. 69
N.P.P. I. p. 268.

30. I.A. XVI. p. 347; Bhāv. Ins., p. 72 and p.74;
I.A. LVIII, p. 161.

31. Bhāv. Ins., p. 72.

32. E.I. XXX, p. 1.

consent of Mahārāja Bhatti of Kiṣkindhā to the gift of Agrahāra village Ubbaraka to the Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭināga, for the religious merit of Mahārāja Bāppāditta, probably his father. The Grant of Babhata³³ (H.E. 83) was made in favour of five brāhmaṇas who were brothers, for the increase of the merit and fame of the donor and his parents. Brāhmaṇa Vedāśharman, son of Priyapatu, the composer of Chitor and Mount Ābu Inscriptions (v.s. 1331 and v.s. 1342), was respected by king Samarasimha. We are told by the same records that Bāppā became the lord of Medapāṭa by the favour and blessings of Hārita Rishi.³⁴

To defray the expenses for the administration and to maintain an army, to maintain his own household and to promote cultural and religious life of the people, the king possessed the treasury (Koṣa). For the royal treasury the revenue was received from the people in different forms such as bhāga, bhoga and uparikara³⁵.

33. Ibid. p. 173, Lines 16-19.

34. Verses 7-11 and verse 60, 'Mount Ābu Ins.' (v.s. 1342), I.A. XVI, p. 347; verses 9-11, 'Chitor Ins.' (v.s. 1331), Bhāv. Ins. p. 75.

35. E.I. XXX, p. 1 ; E.I. XXX, p. 173.

Checks on king's powers

The laws and customs of the country were over and above the king. The king performed his duties in consultation with his amātyas and mantrins. The people rose in rebellion against an autocratic ruler. The bardic tradition informs that the Bhils rose in rebellion and assailed Nāgādīt or Nāgāditya,³⁶ who proved to be a despot. Again, Mokāl and Kumbhā are known to have been assassinated³⁷.

King's Retinue

Queen

Sometimes the Queens exerted their influence on some affairs of administration. We are told by the Āhār Sārneśvara Temple Inscription (A.D. 953) of Allāṭa that an assembly consisting of gosthikas such as Mahālakshmī, the queen of

36. AR. I. p. 239.

37. Ibid. p. 304 and pp. 309-10.

Bhartripaṭṭa II, her son Allaṭa, the latter's son Naravāhana and some ministers and officials, was constituted to look after the management of a temple³⁸. Jayatalādevī, queen of Tejasīmha, constructed the temple of Śhyāmā Pārśvanātha at Chitor in v.s. 1335³⁹ (A.D. 1278) and made several donations for it from Khohar, Sajjanpur and Chitor⁴⁰. Padminī, the wife of Ratanasīmha, had a palace of her own⁴¹.

Nripasūta

'Nripasūta'⁴² may be identified with the son of a king, that is, crown-prince or Yuvarāja. Sometimes, a Yuvarāja or Nripasūta was associated as an apprentice with the administration. Again, he might have ruled conjointly with his father or might take

38. Verses 2-8, I.A. LVIII, p. 161; Bhāv. Ins. p. 67.

39. Chitor Stone.Ins. v.s. 1335(A.D. 1278) RMR, 1923, p. 3.

40. Somani, R.V., op.cit. p. 87.

41. Paliwal, D.L. (ed.), Mewar Through The Ages, Udaipur, 1970, pp. 40-41.

42. E.I. XXXIV, p. 170 ; XXX, p. 1; E.I., XXX, p. 173.

over the responsibility at the old age of the ruling king.

Rājapuruṣa

The position of 'Rājapuruṣa'⁴³ may be equated with that of the royal agent. He was probably appointed to look after the works in different sectors of civil administration and used to furnish reports to the king. He was appointed by the king and was responsible to the king.

Rājasthānīa

'Rājasthānīya'⁴⁴ was an officer acting on behalf of the king, generally as a viceroy. As a representative of the king, he ruled in the capacity of a provincial governor.

43. E.I. XXX, p. 173.

44. Ibid, vide Sircar D.C., The Guhilas of Kīṣkīndhā Cal, 1965, p. 44.

Dūtaka

'Dūtaka' was a messenger who carried the king's sanction and order to the local officials. His duty was also to draw up the donations charter and deliver it to the grantee. The Dūtaka mentioned in the Grant of Bābhata⁴⁵ (H.E. 83) is Rājaputra Ghoroghaṭasvāmin. The three Dūtakas mentioned in the Grant of Bhatti⁴⁶ (H.E. 73) are Yajnadeva, Karkabhata and Bhāvihita. The official designation may be traced in the records of the Gupta period such as Sarnath Buddha Stone Image Inscription (G.E. 154) of Kumāra Gupta II⁴⁷.

Mahāvaidya

'Mahāvaidya' was probably the royal physician. In the Dabok Inscription⁴⁸, there is a reference to Vaidya Giyaka, son of Nāgadaman of the Kāyastha family, inhabitant of Dhavagartā, during

45. E.I. XXX, p. 173.

46. Ibid., p. 1.

47. E.I. VIII, pp. 173ff see also Mukherjee, R.K., The Gupta Empire, Delhi, 1969, pp. 108-109.

48. E.I. XX, p. 187.

the reign period of Guhila Dhaṇika. Rudrāditya was the chief medical officer during the reign-period of Allāṭa. He is mentioned in the Āhār Sārneśvara Temple Inscription (A.D. 953)⁴⁹.

Vandiputra

'Vandiputra' was the royal bard. The chief bard of Allāṭa was Nāga⁵⁰.

Sevaka

'Sevaka'⁵¹ was an attendant or servant. Sevaka probably discharged the functions of a bearer.

Amātyas or Mantrins

Ministership was generally hereditary. An old experienced minister was regarded not only as a friend but a guru. He was treated almost as an infallible guide and entrusted with all the powers

49. I.A. LVIII, p. 161; Bhāv. Ins., p. 67.

50. Ibid.

51. E.I. XXX, p. 1; XXXIV, p. 170; E.I. XXX, p. 173.

pertaining to the administration⁵². The ministers were designated as Amātyas. The practice continued in the mediaeval period. Rāṇā Amarsimha (1597-1620 A.D.) designated his ministers as amātyas⁵³. The mantrins or amātyas did not always form a council comparable to the modern cabinet of ministers. They had no collective responsibility but acted in their individual capacity.

Mahāmātya

The head of the ministry or mantrimandala was Mahāmātya or Mahāmantrin or Chief among the ministers. Mahāmātya Dungarasimha was in charge of Śrī Karaṇa (secretariate) in v.s. 1279 (A.D. 1222). Mahāmātya Jagatasimha carried on the business of the seal during the reign of Jaitrasimha (1213-52 A.D.)⁵⁴. Mahāmātya was in charge of royal seals, exercised general supervision over all departments and acted

52. Sharma, D., Rajasthan Through The Ages, Vol. I, Bikaner, 1966, pp. 316-17.

53. Sharma, G.N., Mewar and the Mughal Emperors, Agra, 1951, p. 165.

54. HM, p. 57.

as the chief adviser to the king. He was respected by other mantrins. Sometimes Mahāmātya or Mahāmantrin was called only Mantrin⁵⁵ (minister). Mammata was the minister of Allāṭa⁵⁶. Bhīmasimha was the minister of Jaltrasiṃha⁵⁷. Again, Nimba was the Chief- Minister of Samarasiṃhadeva⁵⁸. Ratanasiṃha's Chief-Minister was Mahanasiṃha⁵⁹. Rājasimha was the mantrin of Rāimāla. In Jagat Siṃha's time (1628-52 A.D.), the Chief Minister came to be called Mantri-pravar⁶⁰. During the reign period of Rāṇā Rājasimha II (1743 A.D.), the Chief Minister was called as pradhān⁶¹ or pradhānamātya.

Kumāramātya

The post of Kumāramātya appears in the Grant of Bābhata (H.E. 83)⁶². He was the minister enjoying

55. Sharma, D., op.cit. p. 317.

56. I.A. LVIII, p. 161; Bhāv. Ins., p. 67.

57. Verse 26, 'Chirwā Inscription' (v.s. 1330), E.I. XXII, p. 288.

58. 'Dāribā Inscription' (A.D. 1302), RMR. 1927, p.3.

59. Ibid.

60. Sharma G.N., op.cit. p. 165.

61. URI. II, p. 645.

62. E.I. XXX, p. 173.

the status of a prince or Kumāra. In this connection it is important to note that the Guptas had a superior civil service, corresponding to the I.C.S. and I.A.S. of the modern times. The members of this service were known as Kumāramātyas. Hariṣeṇa, the foreign minister of Samudragupta, and Śikharasvāmin and Prithvisena, the ministers of Kumāragupta I, were also known as Kumāramātyas. Sometimes, they also served as subordinates of Mahādandanāyakas⁶³. It is probable that they served as amātyas since their youth. According to some, the amātyas who served the Kumāras or crown-princes were known as Kumāramātyas.

Sāndhivigrahika

The 'Sāndhivigrahika' or 'Sandhivigraha-dhikṛita' was the minister for war and peace. He had to draft charters, grants, proclamations and letters addressed to foreign princes. Sāndhivigrahika Paheka is said to have written the document (Grant

63. Altekar, A. S., State and Government in Ancient India, Delhi, 1958, p. 345.

of Bābhata) in H.E. 83⁶⁴. Allāṭa's Sāndhivigrahika was Durlabharāja⁶⁵. The Yaśatilakachampu⁶⁶ describes the qualification of a Sāndhivigrahika in the following words :

Vāchayati likhati kabate gamate sarba lipiścha
Vāsāścha Ātmaparisthiti kuśalah sapratibhah
sāndhivigrahi kārayah. A Sāndhivigrahika could not merely read and write, but was also proficient in all languages and in the use of scripts. The presence of mind was an essential qualification of a Sāndhivigrahika⁶⁷.

Purodha

In administrative and religious reforms, purodha had a prominent role to play. He was of great help to the king. The position of 'Purodha'

64. E.I. XXX, p. 173.

65. Verse 2-4, 'Āhār Sārneśvara Ins.' of Allāṭa (A.D. 953), I.A. LVIII, p. 161; Bhāv. Ins., p.67.

66. Yaśatilakachampu, p. 740.

67. Sharma, D., op.cit. p. 318.

may be equated with that of 'royal priest' or chief priest. He seems to have enjoyed the status of an amātya or Mantrin. The Jaina āchāryas and Brāhmaṇas were often closely associated with the works of the king and the bureaucracy in an advisory capacity⁶⁸.

Accounts and Records Department

Akshapaṭalika

'Akshapaṭalika' was the highest Accounts Officer of the state. According to Dr. D.C. Sircar, Akshapaṭalika was the same as Akshapaṭal - ādhipati, that is, officer-in-charge of Accounts and Records⁶⁹. The duty of Akshapaṭalika was to note down everything that the king possessed and whatever he spent. Allāṭa in Mewār had two Aksapaṭalikas, Mayura and Samudra⁷⁰. Mayura was succeeded in

68. E.I. XXXI, p. 237; E.I. XXX, p. 173.

69. Indian Epigraphical Glossary, Delhi, 1966, p. 14.

70. Verse 3, 'Āhār Sārneśvara Temple Inscription'

(A.D. 953), I.A. LVIII, p. 161; Bhāv. Ins., p. 67.

his position by his son Śrīpati and the latter by his son Mattata. We are told by the Ekalinga Inscription (971 A.D.) that Naravāhana appointed Aksapaṭalika Mayura's son Śrīpati as his own Aksapaṭalika⁷¹. Śaktikumāra appointed Śrīpati's elder son Mattata as Akshapaṭalika and the younger one Gundala as the officer-in-charge of the financial transactions of the town⁷². Like ministership, the position of Akshapaṭalika was hereditary.

According to Dr. A.S. Altekar, the Superintendent of land records was usually called Mahākshapaṭalika. He was in charge of the records of lands with their titles and boundaries. In this capacity, he appears to have been in close association with the revenue administration⁷³. The official designation may be traced in the Gupta records⁷⁴.

71. Bhāv. Ins., p. 69.

72. 'Āhār Inscription' of Śaktikumāra, ASI, WC, 1906, p. 62.

73. Altekar, A.S. State and Government in Ancient India, Delhi, 1958, p. 345.

74. Mukherjee R.K., op.cit. p. 153.

Gamāgamika

Gamāgamika finds mention in the Grant of Bhāvihita (H.E. 48)⁷⁵. V.V. Mirashi interprets this designation to signify an officer who issued passes for egress and ingress⁷⁶. Vogel explains it to mean 'courier'⁷⁷. R.C. Majumdar⁷⁸ leaves it unexplained. D.C. Sircar suggests that Gamāgamika was an officer in charge of regulating the people's entrance in and departure from cities⁷⁹.

Pramātri

'Pramātri' was a revenue-officer in charge of measurement of the royal share of the produce⁸⁰. Pramātris probably served under Akshapātālika⁸¹.

75. E.I. XXXIV, p. 170.

76. C.I.I. IV, p. 21.

77. I.A. XV, p. 306.

78. Majumdar, R.C. (ed.) History of Bengal I, Cal, 1971, p. 285.

79. Sircar, D.C. Indian Epigraphical Glossary, Delhi, 1966, p. 109.

80. E.I. XXX, p. 173.

81. Altekar, A.S., op.cit. p. 198.

Karaṇika

The designation 'Karaṇika' mentioned in the Grant of Bābhata (H.E. 83) is interpreted to mean a 'member of the scribal community'⁸².

'Karaṇika' may also be taken to suggest a 'permanent secretary' or 'secretary in charge of records and correspondence'. Important documents were carefully drafted by the Karaṇika.

Police Department

Chauroddharanika

The reference to this official designation is found in the Guhila records⁸³. The official in question had an important role in the police administration. He was an officer in charge of dealing with the cases of theft. The designation of this police officer may be traced in the Gupta records such as Vaisālī seal inscriptions⁸⁴. Again,

82. E.I. XXX, p. 173.

83. E.I. XXXIV, p. 170; XXX, p. 173.

84. ASR, 1903-1904; pp. 101-120.

the Mallasārul Copper Plate Inscription⁸⁵ of king Gopachandra mentions this official. He is identified as the Inspector General of police⁸⁶.

Dāṇḍapāśika

The reference to 'Dāṇḍapāśika' is found both in the Gupta⁸⁷ and Guhila records⁸⁸. He is identified with the policemen who work with rod (Danda) and rope (pāśa).

Talāro (or Talāraksha)

'Talāro' was probably the kotwāl in a town. The reference to Talāro is found in the Chirwā Inscription (v.s. 1330). It tells us that Uddharāṇa in the family of Tamtarāda was made Talāraksha of Nāgdā by king Mathanasimhadeva⁸⁹ in

85. E.I. XXIII, pp. 159ff.

86. Mukherjee, R.K. op.cit. pp. 152-153.

87. Ibid.

88. E.I. XXXIV, p. 170; XXX, p. 173.

89. Verses 9-12, E.I. XXII, p. 288.

the 12th century A.D. The same record informs us that through the favour of king Jaitrasimha Kshema secured the post of Talāraksha of Chitrakūṭa⁹⁰ in the 13th century A.D.

Pratihāra

'Pratihāra'⁹¹, also known as 'Dvārika', held an important position in the police-administration of the Guhilas. He was the door-keeper of the law-court or the city-gate. Mahāpratihāra was a higher official. He was an officer in charge of the defence of the royal place or the head of the guards of the city gate. He might be also a chamberlain or inditer of grants. According to some, he was a personal attendant of the king⁹².

90. Ibid., verse 22.

91. E.I. XXX, p. 173.

92. Sircar, D.C., Indian Epigraphical Glossary,
Delhi, 1966, p. 259.

Military Department

Senādhyaaksha

Senādhyaaksha⁹³ may be equated with senāpati or commander of the army. Varāhasimha was the commander of the army belonging to Aparājita. He was the senāpati or senādhyaaksha under king Aparājita⁹⁴. Senādhyaaksha seems to have been the highest official in the military department.

Balādhikṛita

Balādhikṛita⁹⁵ served under the Senādhyaksha. Kakka II's Antroli Chharoli Copper Plates⁹⁶ put a Balādhikṛita next to the Senāpati and before a Chauroddharanika. It has been suggested by B.N. Puri that Balādhikṛita was an officer attached to the secretariate for handling the military

93. E.I. XXX, p. 173.

94. E.I. IV, pp. 31-32.

95. E.I. XXXIV, p. 170.

96. Historical Inscriptions of Gujrat, II. No. 120. Bombay, 1935.

department⁹⁷. He might be the military officer in charge of a town. The reference to this military official is also found in the Gupta records.

Chāṭa and Bhāṭa

Chāṭa and Bhāṭa are taken to be 'chief or a group of Pāiks' and 'pāiks' respectively by the editor of the Grant of Bhāviḥita (H.E. 48)⁹⁸. Actually, they were the pāiks and piādās who occupied the lower rank in the military department.

The Guhila army consisted mainly of the infantry, cavalry and elephants. It is said, at the time of the second battle of Tarāin, Mewār had 13000 troops⁹⁹. Rāṇā Kumbhā assumed the epithets of Asvapati, Gajapati and Narapati¹⁰⁰. Horses and elephants formed important source of military strength.

97. Puri, B.N. History of the Gujjara-pratiharas, Bombay, 1957, p. 111.

98. E.I. XXXIV, p. 170.

99. CHI, III, Chap. XX, p. 520.

100. RMR, 1926, p. 3.

The Guhilas set up some impregnable forts and walled the capital cities¹⁰¹. The famous forts of the Guhilas were Māṇḍalgarh, Kumbhalgarh and Chitorgarh. The value of the forts from the defence point of view can hardly be ignored¹⁰². Rāṇā Kshetrasimha and Mokāl had officials designated as Durgādhirāj that is, 'commander of forts' and 'Skandhavārik', that is 'officer in charge of the defence of capital cities' (Skandhavāra). New designations were coined for some officials in the military department at a later period¹⁰³.

Revenue Department

Śaulkika

Śaulkika, the collector of custom-duties, is known from the Grant of Bābhata H.E. 83¹⁰⁴. The Puranic evidence suggests that Śaulkika was an

101. Verse 144, 'Kumbhalgarh Inscription' (1460 A.D.), E.I. XXIV, p. 325.

102. Rājavallabha canto 4, verses 3-17.

103. Sharma, G.N., Mewar and the Mughal Emperors, Agra, 1951, p. 165.

104. E.I. XXX, p. 173.

officer in charge of tolls¹⁰⁵. D.C. Sircar suggests that he was the toll-collector or Customs Officer, that is, Superintendant of tolls or custom duties¹⁰⁶. U.N. Ghosal is of the same view¹⁰⁷.

Drāṅgika

Drāṅgika was probably an officer-in-charge of a city-station or watch - tower for collection of custom-duties¹⁰⁸.

Pratisāraka

Pratisāraka was probably an officer who collected taxes and allowed carts to go out of the nali or a strip of low ground¹⁰⁹. C.V. Vaidya

105. Misra, B.B., Polity in the Agni Purana, Cal, 1965, p. 159.

106. Sircar, D.C., Indian Epigraphical Glossary, Delhi, 1966, p. 307.

107. Ghosal, U.N., Contributions to the Hindu Revenue System, Cal, 1929, p. 246.

108. E.I. XXX, p. 173; vide, Sircar, D.C. op.cit.p.101.

109. E.I. XXX, p. 173; vide, Sircar, D.C. op.cit.p.260.

suggests that the pratisāarakas were patrols, night - guards or watchmen in the fields or villages¹¹⁰.

The Guhila administration was mainly dependent on land-revenue, although tolls and customs were available from trade and commercial centres. Land revenue used to be collected from the villagers in different forms such as hiranya, bhāga, bhoga and uparikara etc.¹¹¹ The Brāhmaṇas who were donated lands by the Guhila rulers enjoyed rent-free holding.

Administrative Divisions

The kingdom of the Guhilas in Mewār was known as Medapātadeśa or Mevādadeśa¹¹² that was

110. HMHI. II, p. 232.

111. E.I. XXX, p. 1 and p. 173.

112. a) 'Chirwā Ins.' (v.s. 1330), E.I. XXII, p.288.

b) Verses 6-10, 'Chitor Ins.' (v.s. 1331),
Bhāv. Ins. p. 75.

c) Verse 40, 'Mount Ābu Ins.' (v.s. 1342),
I.A. XVI, p. 347.

d) Verse 6-7, 'Ekaliṅga Ins.' (v.s. 1545),
Bhāv. Ins. p. 117.

divided into a number of administrative units.

The terms used in the records to denote those administrative units are Mandala, Viṣaya, Bhoga and Grāma.

Mandala

Mandala is taken as synonymous with deśa or janapada. It was probably a higher unit and in territorial area bigger than a modern district. For example, Medapāṭa is called Mandala (Medapāṭa-mandala) in the Āhār Grant of Bhīma II (v.s. 1263)¹¹³. Again, in the Chirwā, Chitor, Mount Ābu and Ekaliṅga Inscriptions Medapāṭa or Mevāḍa is referred as deśa. It appears, therefore, that Mandala and Deśa were synonymous terms. We are told by an inscription of v.s. 1291 (A.D. 1234) that Mahārāja Sihaḍadeva was the ruler of Vāgada-vatapa-draka-mandala¹¹⁴. Mandalas were probably governed by Mandalesvara or Mahāmandalesvara. The Ājhari Stone Inscription v.s. 1223 (A.D. 1167) yields the

113. PAIOC, VII, p. 643.

114. HM, p. 56.

information that Mahāmandalesvara Rājakūla Raṇasideva was reigning at Camdapalli. He is identified by Bhandarkar with Raṇasimha of the Guhila family¹¹⁵. Sometimes, the ruler of a Mandala or governor of a Mandala was called Mandalādhīpa¹¹⁶. An inscription dated v.s. 887 (A.D. 830) referring to the name of Dhaṇika, father of Iśanabhata, was found at Nāsun in the Ajmer district. The record describes the rulers as Mandalādhīpas. The epithet Māṇḍalika was sometimes used with the name of a king¹¹⁷. Mandalāchchhaka appearing in the Grant of Bābhata (H.E. 83) probably indicates a mandala of the name Achchhaka¹¹⁸.

Viṣaya

Viṣaya was a territorial division or unit next to that of Mandala. In the Guhila records we

115. ASI, WC, 1910-11, p. 39.

116. I.A. LIX, p. 21.

117. Line 13, 'Kadmal plates' (v.s. 1140), E.I. XXXI, p. 237.

118. E.I. XXX, p. 173.

find references to at least two districts viz. Purapaṭṭa Viṣaya and Kiṣkindhipura Viṣaya¹¹⁹. Kiṣkindhipura Viṣaya appearing in the Grant of Bhā-vihita was almost equal to a modern district¹²⁰. But the area of Purapaṭṭa viṣaya mentioned in the record is not clearly described. As pointed out by D.C. Sircar, it is difficult to say whether Purapaṭṭa was really a geographical name or the reference is to the Paṭṭa viṣaya used in the sense of metropolitan district around the pura meaning the capital city of Kiṣkindhipura and the latter was the same as the Kiṣkindhipura viṣaya mentioned in the Grant of Bābhata¹²¹. The officer in charge of Viṣaya or the head of viṣayas was Viṣayapati. Although there is no separate mention of Viṣayapati, we find mention of Viṣaya - bhoga - pati¹²².

Bhoga

Viṣayas seem to have been sub-divided into bhogas which were equivalent to modern sub-districts.

119. E.I. XXXIV, p. 170; E.I. XXX, p. 173.

120. Sircar, D.C., The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā, Cal, 1965, p. 61.

121. E.I. XXX, p. 173.

122. Ibid.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact relationship between a viṣaya and a bhoga. Viṣaya was probably an intermediary unit between a mandala and a bhoga. The officer in charge of bhoga, that is, sub-district or sub-division, was Bhogapati. The expression Viṣaya-bhoga-pati, referred to in the Grant of Bābhata (H.E. 83), stands for an officer in charge of both Viṣaya and Bhoga, that is, an officer in charge of both the district and the sub-division lying within the district. The reference to Viṣayapati and Bhogapati may be traced in the Mallaśārul-Copper Plate Inscription¹²³ of king Gopachandra. Bhogapati stands for an officer in charge of Jāigirs an officer in charge of a territorial unit called bhoga¹²⁴. Although Viṣaya and Bhoga were two separate territorial units an officer was sometimes put in charge of both. In the Guhila records, Viṣayapati and Bhogapati are not found mentioned separately.

123. E.I. XXIII, pp. 159ff.

124. Sircar, D.C. Indian Epigraphical Glossary,
Delhi, 1966, p. 55.

Grāma

The lowest administrative unit in the Guhila administration was, of course, the village or grāma. The designation of the headman of the village was Grāmādhīpati¹²⁵. Sāmoli, Ghāgshā, Chirwā, Dāribā, Ḍabok, Chātsu, Kadmal were some important villages where most of the Guhila inscriptions were found. The villages granted to the Brāhmaṇas were known as agrahāra. Ubbaraka was an agrahāra that finds mention in the Grant of Bhatti (H.E. 73)¹²⁶. Mitrapallikāgrāma was an important village mentioned in the Grant of Bābhata (H.E. 83)¹²⁷.

Officials in charge of different Administrative units

The administration of different administrative units under the Guhilas was closely linked up with revenue administration. The necessity of

125. Ibid.

126. E.I. XXX, p. 1.

127. Ibid. p. 173.

decentralization of administration naturally arose and more and more powers were delegated to the local officials at the province, district and village (Mandala to Grāma) level.

Uparika

Uparika literally means 'one placed at the top'. In the Gupta period, he was the governor of a province (bhūkti). But under the Chaulukyas of Gujrāt, Uparori Vāmadeva was in charge of a Viṣaya¹²⁸. The official designation Uparika might be derived from 'Uparikara'¹²⁹. It might stand for the officer in charge of the collection of the tax named 'Uparikara'. The contemporary records of the Chaulukyas seem to suggest that the Guhilas might accomodate Uparika in their administration.

Āyuktaka

Āyuktaka¹³⁰ was probably an additional district officer. The Āyuktaka of the Gupta period

128. Cf. Mazumdar, A.K., The Chaulukyas of Gujrat, Bombay, 1956, p. 231.

129. E.I. XXXIV, p. 170.

130. E.I. XXX, p. 1.

was entrusted with the task of administering sub-division of a district or a metropoliton town. Āyuktaka might have been associated with the district administration under the Guhilas whose records often reflect the tradition of the Gupta polity.

Viniyuktaka

The task entrusted to Āyuktaka seems to have partly or jointly shouldered by 'Viniyuktaka'¹³¹ in the sub-district or sub-division of a district. Bhogapati is known to have been in charge of Bhoga, that is, sub-district or sub-division, Viniyuktaka might have been an additional sub-divisional officer.

Vyāpṛitaka

Vyapṛta (cf. Vāpata) was a governor or a superintendent as suggested by D.C. Sircar¹³². Perhaps he was the head of an administrative department (civil)¹³³. Later, this designation was probably

131. Ibid.

132. Sircar, D.C. op.cit. p. 382.

133. E.I. XXX, p. I.

changed to Pancholi Himmat. The literary tradition records that in Rānā Rāimal's time (1473-1509) A.D.) the minister Pancholi Himmat conducted the work of civil administration¹³⁴.

Local Self-Government

The towns under guilds and villages under panchāyets formed the local self-government under the Guhila rule. The craft-guilds, merchant-guilds and town-councils deserve mention in this connection. The Guhila epigraphic records give us to understand that the guilds provided the king with the financial resources and made rich endowments to the temples. The guilds of potters, artisans, gardeners and merchants existed in the Guhila kingdom¹³⁵. According to the legal texts ascribed to Nārada and Bṛihaspati, the king had the least interference in the internal affairs of the guilds.

134. Sharma, G.N., Newar and the Mughal Emperors, Agra, 1951, p. 165.

135. I.A. LVIII, p. 161; Bhāv. Ins., p. 67, RMR, 1924; p. 2; RMR, 1926, p. 2; RMR, 1927, p. 3.

Generally, the Town-Committee carried on the administration of the town, Nagara, Pura and Garh are referred to in the epigraphic records of the Guhilas. The examples are Ātpur or Ātpura, Āghāṭapura, Kiṣkindipura, Vaṭanagara, Chitorgarh, Māṇḍalgarh etc. The town was divided into wards, and each ward sent its own representative to the town-committee. In the town of Dhalop there were eight wards and each ward sent its two representatives¹³⁶. Probably, elderly persons having experience and property qualifications used to be selected by a general consensus of opinion of the residents¹³⁷.

Village Administration

Grāmādhīpati, that is, the headman of the village, has already been referred to above. Another village-official was Mahattara¹³⁸, who is stated to be the leader or elder of the village. The

136. E.I. XI, p. 39; Dhalop was not located within the kingdom of Mewār, but was included in Rājputānā.

137. Jain K.C., Ancient cities and Towns of Rajasthan, Delhi, 1972, p. 485.

138. E.I. XXX, p. 1.

Grāmādhīpati and the Mahattara may be distinguished from each other. The former corresponds to Grāmika of the earlier period. The headman of the village was often a state employee, while the Mahattara did not serve under the government. It has been suggested by Pargiter that Mahattaras were men of position in the village, the leading men. Some of them were noted for their ability and age, while others were conspicuous by their wealth¹³⁹.

In addition to Grāmādhīpati and Mahattara, we find mention of Kutumbin in the Guhila records. Kutumbins were agriculturist householders¹⁴⁰. They find mention in the Gupta records. Any dispute or problem of the village used to be solved by the Panchāyet, or the village-assembly under the Guhila rule. The village-assembly consisted of Grāmādhīpati, Mahattaras and Kutumbins.

139. Cf. Puri, B.N., op.cit. p. 113.

140. E.I. XXX, p. I.

Sāmantas and Administration

The Guhila kingdom of Mewār included the territories administered by the feudatory chiefs who were known by their epithets like Māṇḍalika, Sāmanta, Mahāsāmanta, Panchamahāśabda and Thakkura¹⁴¹, sometimes held titles like Mahārāja, and even Mahārājādhirāja¹⁴². The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā held the titles like Samādhigata Pancha Mahāśabda, Samupārjita Pancha Mahāśabda etc.¹⁴³ which indicate their subordinate status. After the close of the reign of Harsha, the Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā might have acknowledged the overlordship of Śīla alias Bāppā of the main branch¹⁴⁴.

There is a controversy regarding the meaning of the epithet Panchamahāśabda. According to the Vivekachintāmani, it stood for five instruments,

141. E.I. XXXI, p. 237; E.I. XXX, p. I; E.I. XXXIV, p. 170; E.I. XXX, p. 173; DHNI, II, p. 1201.

142. RMR, 1928, p. 3; HM, pp. 56-57.

143. E.I. XXXIV, p. 170; E.I. XXX, p. 173.

144. Verse 16, Bhāv. Ins. p. 118.

that is, śringa or horn, tammata or taliage, śankha or Conch, bheri or kettledrum and jaya-ghanta or bell of victory¹⁴⁵. In Kāśhmīr, however, the title was conferred because the officer in question controlled five offices that is Mahāpratihārapiḍa (high chamberlain), Mahāsāndhivigrahika (minister for war and peace), Mahasvasala (chief master of horses), Mahābhāndagāra (high keeper of treasury) and Mahāsadhahāga (chief executive officer)¹⁴⁶. But in the Guhila records¹⁴⁷, we find mention Sāndhivigrahika and others attached with separate departments. The feudatory king who had command and control in the five departments was called Panchamahāśabda. Again, it is evident from the Dhulev Plate of Bhatti (H.E. 73) that the Guhila rulers of Kiṣkindhā had their Sāmantas who may be considered sub-feudatories¹⁴⁸ in relation to the Guhilas of Mewār.

145. I.A. XII, p. 96.

146. Cf. Bhatia, P., The Paramāras, New Delhi, 1970, p. 222 fn. 2.

147. E.I. XXXIV, p. 170; E.I. XXX, p. 173; E.I. XXX, p. I.

148. E.I. XXX, p. I.

In addition to the Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā, there were other feudatory chiefs owing allegiance to the Guhilas of Mewār. A mutilated inscription (v.s. 1265) refers to Maṇārājādhirāja Vijayapāladeva as a chief subordinate to the ruler of Mewār who was either Padmasiṃha or his successor Jaitrasīṃha¹⁴⁹. Again, an inscription (v.s. 1243) records the death of Thākuraṇī Hirādevī, wife of Kolhaṇa of the Guhila lineage¹⁵⁰. This Kolhaṇa seems to have been a feudatory under the Guhila ruler of Mewār. Further, two inscriptions found at Jirāṇ (Gwālīor state) dated A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1008 refer to one Vīgrahapāla, belonging to Guhilaputra family, who had the epithet Maṇāsāmantādhipati¹⁵¹.

The study of the epigraphic records reveals the existence of different types of feudatory chiefs owing allegiance to either the main branch of the Guhilas of Mewār or some contemporary ruling dynasties. The first category of the feudatory chiefs

149. RMR, 1928, p. 3; RMR, 1932, p. 3.

150. RMR, 1920, p. 4.

151. RMR, 1935-36, p. 2.

consisted of those who were rewarded by the king with land on consideration of their valuable services¹⁵². The second category of the feudatory chiefs were those who carved out their own principality but remained linked with the main branch, without mentioning their overlord. The Guhilas of Śeśodā belonged to this category. They remained loyal to the main branch, as they had been granted jāgir of Śeśodā by the main branch in the 12th century A.D.¹⁵³. Again Mahārājādhirāja Śrīvijayapāla deva of Ata, Mahārājakumāra Prithvisimhadeva of Khamnor, Rāvāt Bhāmsimha of Deoli (at Jirān) have not referred to their overlord¹⁵⁴. But there were other branches who explicitly acknowledged their allegiance to the overlords. For example, the Dagook Inscription refers to Dhanika, son of Guhila, who ruled in Dhavagartā or Dhoḍ during the reign of Parameśvara Paramabhattachāraka Mahārājādhirāja

152. E.I. XXXI, p. 237.

153. DHNI. II, p. 1180.

154. RMR. 1928, p. 3; RMR. 1932, p. 3; RMR. 1920, p. 4; RMR. 1935-36, p. 2.

Śrī Dhavalappadeva, identified with Maurya Dhavalappadeva¹⁵⁵. That the Guhilas of Saurāṣṭra were the feudatories under Chaulukya Kumārapāla is evident from the Mongrol Stone Inscription of Guhila Thakkura Mulaka¹⁵⁶. Further, the Guhilas of Āsikā (Hisār dist. of the Punjab) and the Guhilas of Naḍulaḍāgika probably served under the Chāhamānas of Sākambharī and Chāhamānas of Nādol¹⁵⁷ respectively. The Guhilas of Chātsu served as vassals under the Pratihāras¹⁵⁸. But the Guhila chiefs who in their records do not mention their overlords in all probability linked with the main branch.

The measure of internal autonomy enjoyed by the feudatory lords varied from place to place. The feudatory lines of the Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā, Guhilas of Śeśodā and Guhilas of Chātsu, enjoyed full internal autonomy. They could have their own

155. E.I. XX, p. 187.

156. DHNI. II, pp. 1201-1202.

157. Ibid. pp. 1202-1203.

158. E.I. XII, p. 10.

feudatories and maintain their own bureaucracy for administration. They could levy taxes, alienate villages and even sell them without any reference to the overlord¹⁵⁹. There were other feudatory chiefs who were less powerful and enjoyed less freedom. If the feudatory chief found himself oppressed or humiliated, he raised the banner of revolt and carved out a kingdom of his own. There was no hard and fast rule regarding the obligations of feudatory chiefs. The general relation between the overlord and feudatory chief depended upon the relative strength of the vassal vis-a-vis his suzerain. The king honoured the feudatories with gift of ~~dress~~ ^{dress}. The feudatories participated in the royal coronation. They also supplied troops to their overlord when needed. Harsharāja Guhila of the Chātsu line presented horses to his overlord Bhoja (Pratihāra)¹⁶⁰.

The Guhila administration was characterised by decentralization of power and authority. At the

159. E.I. XXXIV, p. 170; E.I. XXX, p. 1; E.I. XXX, p. 173.

160. Verse 19, 'Chātsu Inscription', E.I. XII, p. 10.

same time, we can hardly lose sight of the centralized bureaucratic machinery of the Guhilas. It remains true that the king had the least say in the matter of recruiting local officials, whose posts were often hereditary. At the same time, the local rulers did not fail to make regular payment of taxes to the king. Between the king and the tillers of the soil there were landed intermediaries, the feudal lords or Sāmanta Prabhus of different grades. They formed the main prop of power of the king and no small part of the king's forces came from the feudal proprietors¹⁶¹. Generally, the king made no intervention in the matters of the feudal estates. But they remained under the obligation to serve the king with monetary and military resources occasionally or whenever called for.

Land-grants of the Guhilas¹⁶² led to the rise of landed intermediaries between the king and the cultivators. As a result of liberal donation of

161. Cf. Sharma, D., op.cit. p. 355.

162. E.I. XXX, p. I; E.I. XXX, p. 173; E.I. XXXIV, p. 170; E.I. XXXI, p. 237.

lands, the donees like the Brāhmaṇas, the maintainers of temples and others, emerged as the new landed aristocracy. The new land-owning class began to control the local administration. With the gradual growth of the administrative authority of the donees, the tillers of the soil, serving under them, began to be subjected to various types of repressions including the levy of unscheduled taxes.

While reviewing the Guhila administration, we may recall "the ideal of federal - feudal empire, with full liberty to each constituent state to strive for the imperial status"¹⁶³ permeating the early mediaeval polity. As the Guhilas of Mewār did not rule a far - flung empire, the feudatory chiefs serving under them could not be so powerful as to strive for an imperial status for themselves. On the otherhand, the Guhilas of Mewār themselves who had to hold probably a subordinate, although not proved feudatory, status under the pratihāras, paramāras, Chaulukyas from time to time, strove far and achieved moderately imperial

163. Altekar, A.S. State and Government in Ancient India,
Delhi, 1958, p. 388.

status. The kingdom of Mewār under the Guhilas put up a picture of an "integrated polity"¹⁶⁴ with a king and his bureaucracy on the onehand and the provincial, district and village administration with a tendency towards the growth of local self - government on the other. The provincial governors and vassal chiefs (Sāmantas) stood almost in the same relation with the king at the centre. The king's authority was delegated to both the provincial governors and the feudatory chiefs. The king hardly followed the policy of making interference in the affairs of either the provinces or districts of his own kingdom or of the states belonging to the vassal chiefs. It was through liberal land - grants for religious purposes that the king was determined to ultimately regulate the state of things at the lowest level through the donees who apparently enjoyed remission of taxes and other privileges. Feudal elements might be traced in the polity, but 'feudalism could hardly grow in the absence of a definite corelation between service assignments and the formation of the feudatory and other intermediary strata'.

164. Chattopadhyay, B.D. 'Political Processes and Structure of Polity in early mediaeval India : Problems of Perspective', Presidential Address, Ancient India Section, Indian History Congress, 44th Session. University of Burdwan, 1983.

Chapter - IX

Society and Culture in Mewār under the Guhila rule

The re-construction of the socio-cultural ^{is} history of early mediaeval Mewār/difficult due to inadequacy of material. We may, however, undertake the task on the basis of whatever material is furnished by the contemporary inscriptions, literary texts, local chronicles, sculptures and architectural remains.

Original inhabitants of Mewār

The original inhabitants of Mewār were the Nishādas or Bhils, a Pre-Aryan aboriginal tribe of India¹. According to Tod, 'not their language only, but their superstitions differ from those of the Rājputs, although from a desire to rise above their natural condition, they have engrafted upon their own,

1. HM. p. 5; IG(R). p. 86.

the most popular mythologies of their civilized conquerors, who from the north gradually spread themselves over the continent and the peninsulā, even to the remote isles of the Indian ocean².

There was another tribe in Mewār, the Medas³. The rites, rituals, social customs of the Medas were not different from those of the Bhils. It seems that the Medas were not so primitive like the Nishādas or the Bhils and flourished at a later period, probably before the advent of the Guhilas in Medapāta or Mewār.

As pointed out by A.C. Banerjee, in the land of the Rājaputras, the aboriginal tribes, 'Venaputras', played an important role in the political and economic life, although they had no recognized position in the social heirarchy⁴. But the Guhila rulers are found to have adopted some of the customs and manners of the Bhils. For instance,

2. AR, I. p. 590.

3. Verse 212, 'Kumbhalgarh Inscription' (1460 A.D.), E.I. XXI, pp. 278ff vide I.A. VI. p. 191, VII p.254.

4. Banerjee A.C., Aspects of Rajput state and society, New Delhi, 1983, p. 128.

"The Bhils having determined in sport to elect a king, the choice fell on Goha and one of the young savages cutting his finger applied the blood as the tika of sovereignty to his forehead"⁵.

According to the bardic tradition, Bāppā was protected in his infancy by a Bhil and the descendants of some Bhil chiefs still claim the privilege of performing the tika on the occasion of the coronation of the descendants of Bāppā⁶. The practice was also adopted in other states as well. The coronation ceremony of a Rājput chief in any state, where there was a Bhil or Minā population, was not considered complete unless the tika or mark of kingship was impressed upon the forehead of the new chief by the bleeding thumb of the head of the family to which that hereditary privilege belonged⁷

5. AR. I. p. 238.

6. Ibid, p. 239.

7. Snarma, G.N., Social Life in Mediaeval Rajasthan, Agra, 1968, pp. 102-103.

The Bhils represent a wild outcaste tribe settled originally in Mewār, Dungarpur, Partāpgarh, Sironi and Bānswārā. They are said to have been divided into sixteen septs or sub-tribes. Some small chiefs, such as those of Ognā, Panarwā and Jawās, regard themselves as of mixed Rājput and Bhil descent⁸.

The Bhils were divided into a number of groups such as the villager-Bhils, the cultivating Bhils and the wild or mountain Bhils⁹. Hunting and cultivation were their professions, but generally they were plunderers. Sometimes they also served as soldiers under the Rānās of Mewār.

The majority of the Bhils confined themselves to the wilder portions of the country, where they lived almost independently, holding together under their own petty chiefs and headmen, paying irregular tribute or rents to the Chief of the state or to the

8. Sherring, M.A., Hindu Tribes and Castes, vol. III, Cal, 1881, pp. 81-82.

9. Mewar Residency, Ajmer, 1908, p. 229.

Rājput landowner in whose estate they were settled. A good number of Bhils, who have mixed with the general population, are to be found scattered in the villages on the outskirts of the wild country¹⁰. They lived in the pāls or collection of detached huts amongst the hills, each hut standing on a small knoll in the midst of its patch of cultivated land.

Society : Caste - System

Early mediaeval Mewār had inherited the Varṇa-system from the past¹¹. The chaturvarṇa system comprising Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra, may be traced in Mewār. They pursued their respective occupations as prescribed in the smṛiti-texts.

10. Hunter, W.W., Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. VII, London, 1881, p. 514.

11. Nādlāi Inscription (V.S. 1200); verse 7, Rasiyā Ki-chhatri Inscription or Chitor Ins. (V.S. 1331); Bhāvnagar Inscriptions No. I and IV; Ekaliṅga Mahātmya, Chap. 26, verse 46.

Position of the Brāhmaṇas

At the top of the society of Mewār were the Brāhmaṇas. It appears from the epigraphic records of the Guṇilas that the cultural supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas, their honoured position and privileges remained intact¹². The epigraphic records as well as the literary texts often refer to the gotra, Śākhā, Pravara of the Brāhmaṇas and also the place wherefrom they had migrated¹³. The Grant of Bhāviṇita (H.E. 48) refers to Brāhmaṇa Aśaṅgaśarmaṇ belonging to Daundāyana gotra and Vājasaneyā śākhā and resident of Kuragirakā¹⁴. Similarly, the Dhulev plate of Bhatti (H.E. 73) mentions the name of Brāhmaṇa Bhattināga of the Chandrātreyā gotra of Vajasaneyā śākhā¹⁵. The Grant of Bābhata (H.E. 83) also mentions the name of five Brāhmaṇas who were brothers and belonging to Daundāyana gotra and

12. 'Grant of Bhāviṇita' (H.E. 48), E.I. XXXIV, p.170;

'Dhulev plate of Bhatti' (H.E. 73), E.I. XXX, p.1;

'Grant of Bābhata' (H.E. 83), E.I. XXX, p. 173.

13. Ibid; vide; 'Ātpur Inscription' (A.D. 977), I.A.

XXXIX, p. 191; JASB (1909), p. 173.

14. Line 11-17, E.I. XXXIV, p. 170.

15. E.I. XXX, p. 1.

Mādhyaṇḍina śākhā¹⁶. The Brāhmaṇa mentioned in the Guhila records were donees. They were donated lands by the Guhila kings and chiefs for the increase of their fame and merit. The donation of land was also made for the performance of priestly functions in temples. The Brāhmaṇas cultivated Sanskrit learning and practised astrology and performed Vedic rituals¹⁷.

From the 7th to the middle of the 11th century A.D., the epigraphic records often refer to the Brāhmaṇa donees along with their gotras and śākhās in addition their places of residence¹⁸. Gradually, the mention of the gotra and the śākhā was omitted and the place of residence was preferred. We find mention of Puṣkara Brāhmaṇas, Nāgdā Brāhmaṇas and Nāgara Brāhmaṇas. The mode adopted by the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of defining their sub-caste by counting their families and their gotras was followed by all the various sub-sections and hence had arisen hundreds of sub-castes into which Brāhmaṇs were

16. E.I. XXX, p. 173.

17. RMR. 1932, p. 5.

18. I.A. XVI, p. 266; E.I. VII, p. 86.

sub-divided and which restricted inter-marriage and interdining among themselves. All these sub-sections gradually acquired new names from the country or the town of their residence, so that each sub-section, gotra and śākhā became of minor importance. But it must be noted that all the sub-sections of Brāhmins adhered faithfully to the Vedic religion. They not only preserved their śākhā and its special ritual but also their gotra and pravara mentioned in the Smṛitis, the law of marriage and the prohibition enjoined by the Smṛitis. The gotra determined the law of marriage among the Brāhmins¹⁹.

The inscriptions²⁰ of the Guhila rulers indicate the position of the Brāhmaṇas in the society of Mewār. The king's patronage to the Brāhmaṇas lifted their status and, as such, the Brāhmaṇas held the highest position in the early mediaeval and mediaeval society of Mewār. The sub-sections of the Brāhmaṇas like Śhrimālis, Gaur, Sikhwāl, Nāgar, Dashorā, Paliwāl, Dhādhich, played

19. Cf. HMHI, II. p. 381.

20. E.I. XXX, p. 1; p. 173; XXXIV, p. 170.

a vital role in the social heirarchy. Among these, the Paliwāls and the Dashorās find mention in the Nāgari Inscription²¹ of Guhila Rāimāla (V.S. 1561) and the Rāysāgar Talāo Inscription²² (V.S. 1732). The mention of Nāgara Brāhmaṇas is found in the Vāṇnagar Prasasti²³ of Kumārāpāla (A.D. 1151) and the Ekalingamahātmya²⁴.

As the Brāhmaṇas enjoyed local prestige owing to their noble birth and ownership of land, they regarded themselves as the custodians of Indian traditional culture. The Brāhmaṇas who did not even exercise priestly functions also could hold lands and served as vassals under the rulers of Mewār. As a result of the donation of land to the Brāhmaṇas, they turned to be small feudal lords and exercised political influence through different channels. They also held administrative posts. Certain groups of Brāhmaṇas engaged themselves in agriculture. The Śrīmālī, Paliwāl, Meenariā and Nāgdā Brāhmaṇas were

21. Verse 25, I.A. LVI. Pt. I. p. 82.

22. Verse 31, Bhāv. Ins. p. 145.

23. E.I. I. p. 295.

24. Cf. JASB (1909), pp. 167ff.

mostly agriculturists²⁵. The Brāhmaṇas connected with the royal family were also the composers of the praśastis often recorded in the epigraphs²⁶.

Some categories of Brāhmaṇas suffered social degradation. The Bhojaka Brāhmaṇas, for instance, served as cooks. The Loṇāṇā Brāhmaṇas ate meat and drunk spirits. The Katiyā Brāhmaṇas received the offerings made to the dead persons and took the food given in charity during the period of twelve days following the death of a person. All these groups were condemned as belonging to the lower social status²⁷. The Brāhmaṇas who came into habitual contact with the Muslims were considered inferior to the Brāhmaṇas, who kept themselves aloof²⁸ maintaining their cultural and ceremonial purity.

25. Sharma, G.N., Glories of Mewar, Agra, p. III.

26. Verse 60, 'Chitor Inscription' (V.S. 1331), Bhāv. Ins. p. 75, verse 60, 'Mount Ābu Inscription' (V.S. 1342), I.A. XVI, p. 247.

27. Sharma, G.N., Social Life in Mediaeval Rajasthan, Agra, 1968, pp. 103-104.

28. Sachau, II. pp. 134-135.

Position of the Rājputs

The position of the Rājputs in the social hierarchy was second only to that of the Brāhmaṇas. They formed the ruling and warrior class par excellence. They might have been people of different castes, communities, tribes and cultures. They had, however, a common bond, that is, the adoption of the warriors' profession. It would be erroneous to maintain that they belonged to one jāti and that they were Kshatriyas. Whatever might have been the ethnic origin of the Guhilas, it appears from their records that after their absorption in the caste - society, they were first recognised as Brāhmaṇas, although later they changed their priestly profession to adopt the warrior's profession. They were included among the thirty-six Rājput clans²⁹. A Rājput might also be belonging to the foreign stock. For example, the Hūṇas were absorbed into the Rājput fold. The people consciously or unconsciously realised that every fighter was inherently a Kshatriya³⁰. According to the Kaṇhadadeprabandha, the Rājputs - the Suryavamśis, the Chandravamśis and the Agnikulas - were divided in thirty-six clans ; but each clan was regarded as a

29. HMHI, II, p. 22.

30. Sharma, D. Rajasthan Through the Ages, Vol.I.
Bikaner, 1966, p. 441.

single unit for purposes of marriage and no man was permitted to marry a girl of the same clan³¹.

Tod wrote his Annals to bring to his countrymen's notice "the valour and chivalry of this race which assumed the saffron robe, emblematic of death or victory whenever it was threatened by enemies"³². The rulers, the feudatory chiefs, many administrative officers and the warriors largely came from the Rājput clans. The ordinary Kshatriyas were cultivators and land holders³³. The soldiers were mainly recruited from the Kshatriya caste.

Position of the Vaiśyas

The Vaiśyas in Mewār may be traced in the mercantile communities. In the Smritis, trade and commerce, formed the main occupation of the Vaiśyas of higher status. The Mahājanas and the śresthīns, whose principal occupations were trade, banking,

31. Kanhadade-Prabandha, canto III, verses 38 ff.

32. Banerjee, A.C., Aspects of Rajput State and Society, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 125-26.

33. HMHI, II. p. 183.

money-lending, may be treated as Vaiśyas. They represented the section of the early mediaeval society in Mewār. Some of them migrated from outside and settled in Mewār under royal patronage. For example, we are told by the Sānoli Inscription of Śīlāditya (A.D. 646) that a Mahājana community headed by Jentaka, who had migrated from Vaṭanagara, (identified with Vasantgarh in Sirohi State, Rāj-putānā) started an āgara (ākara or mine) in Aranya-kūpagiri, which became a source of livelihood for the people. The next two lines of the inscription tell us that Mahattara Jentaka, at the command of the Mahājanas, founded at the place a temple of Aranyavāsinī³⁴. The Ghāgshā Inscription of Tejasīmha (V.S. 1322) yields the information about the family of the Mahājana community Ratna belonging to Dindu family, who built the Vāpi (well) where the inscription was found³⁵. It is known from the Nāgda Inscription (V.S. 1494) of Rāṇā Kumbhā that Saraṅga, a wealthy merchant of Śrī Devakulapāṭaka,

34. Lines 5-9, E.I. XX, p. 97.

35. Verses 9-30, RMR. 1927, p. 3.

established an idol of Śrī Śānti Jinavara who belonged to the Mahājana community of the Jaina religion³⁶. It appears from the Āhār Sārneśvara Temple Inscription of Allāṭa (A.D. 953) that the merchants of Karṇāṭa, Madhyadeśa, Lāṭa and Takka paid a visit to Āghāṭa³⁷.

From the Jaina literature we come to know about the prosperity of the Vaiśya community in Rājasthān. They were adventurous traders, though generally not very good soldiers. They had enough influence at the royal courts³⁸. Like the Brāhmaṇas and Rājputs they had also sub-divisions of castes like Agarwāl, Oswāl, Porwāl, Paliwāl etc. The sub-sections of the Oswāls were Kothāri, Singhvi, Śeṭh, Mehtā, Bhāndāri. The sub-castes of the Agarwāls are Dāgā, Pugāli, Lodhā, Kāthi, Mantri, Mundrā etc. The Paliwāls had sixty-two sub-sections³⁹. All these classes of Vaiśyas

36. Bhāv. Ins., p. 112.

37. Verse 10, Bhāv. Ins., p. 67; I.A. LVIII. p. 161.

38. Jineśvara's Kathākōṣaprakaraṇa, pp. 117-125.

39. Sharma, G.N., op.cit. p. 90.

were settled in different villages and towns. They were engaged mainly in trade and money-lending business. The Agarwāls of Mallāni and Karauli maintained their livelihood on agriculture. Several families of Nandwānā in Mewār carried on trade and agriculture side by side⁴⁰.

Probably sometime before 12th century A.D. the Maheśvarīs, a merchant class, came into existence in Didwānā in Mewār. Didwānā is denoted by the term 'Dindu' mentioned in the Ghāgshā Inscription⁴¹ of Tejasimha (V.S. 1322). As pointed out by Tod, the Vaiśyas played an important role in both commercial and political life. They were predominantly Jainas. The officers of the state and revenue belonged chiefly to the Jain laity⁴².

Position of the Kāyasthas

The Kāyasthas played a prominent role in the society as well as in the administration of Mewār.

40. Sūri, Manik Chanda, Prithvīchandracharita (V.S. 1478) p. 155.

41. Verses 9-30, RMR. 1927, p. 3.

42. AR. I. pp. 548-49.

From the functional point of view, they stood between the Brāhmaṇas and the Vaiśyas. The earliest inscription in Mewār which mentions the scribe (Kāyastha) is the Kānāsawā Inscription of Śivagaṇa (A.D. 738)⁴³. The Dabok Inscription, also known as Dhod Inscription, further tells us about Vaidya Giyaka, son of Nāgadaman of the Kāyastha family, who was an inhabitant of Dhavagartā in Mewar⁴⁴. The Āhār Sārnesvara Temple Inscription (A.D. 953) of Allāṭa mentions the names of two scribes viz. Pala and Vellaka, who presumably belonged to the Kāyastha caste⁴⁵. In the Kadmal Plates (V.S. 1140) we have the evidence of Panchakulika caste which formed a sub-division of the Kāyastha community. The composer of the grant was Nāgapāla, the son of Pandita Uhila, belonging to Panchakulika caste of the Kāyastha community⁴⁶.

43. ASI, WC, 1906, p. 61; Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 18; I.A. XIX, p. 19.

44. E.I. XX, p. 187.

45. Bhāv. Ins. p. 67; I.A. LVIII, p. 161.

46. Lines 36-37, E.I. XXXI, p. 237.

The main sub-castes of the Kāyasthas were the Pancholis, Bhatanagars and Māthurs, who were prominent as administrators and warriors. Pancholi Bihāri Dās's ancestors occupied high position in Mewār from the 14th century onwards⁴⁷. As revenue officers, keepers of accounts, having loyalty to the Rājās of Mewār, the Kāyasthas almost hold the same position as the Vaisyas⁴⁸.

Chārans

The Chārans formed a distinct caste having great respectibility and influence in Mewār. A curious combination of the functions discharged by the Brāhmaṇas and the Rājputs is found in the activities of the Chārans. Like the Brāhmaṇas, they adopted literary pursuits and received gifts from the kings and their subordinate chiefs. Like the Rājputs, they drank liquor, took meat, worshipped Śakti and engaged themselves in military activities. On occasions of marriage, they stood at the chief

47. Sharma, G.N., op.cit., p. 94.

48. Banerjee, A.C., op.cit., p. 127.

portal to demand customary gifts called neg from the bridegroom and in the front row of the gate they also stood to receive the first blow of the sword⁴⁹.

According to Malcolm, "they rank as genealogists of proud chiefs and favoured individuals, often combine with that office the station of councillors, and establish an ascendancy over the minds of their superior, which is stronger from being grounded upon a mysterious feeling of awe. It is to them that the proudest Rājput looks for solace in adversity, and for increased joy and exultation in prosperity"⁵⁰. They preserved the glorious deeds of the Rājput dynasties, composed songs glorifying the military deeds of the Rājput heroes and also composed chronicles, stories and genealogies.

49. Rājavilāsa, Canto II V. 91. vide, Sharma, G.N.,
op.cit. pp. 94-95.

50. Malcolm. John, Memoirs of Central India., vol. I.
Cal. 1880, pp. 517-518.

The Chāran women also performed military pursuits when needed. Traditionally it is believed that a Chāran woman, mother of Bāru Chāran, helped Rāṇā Hammir to recover Chitor by supplying 500 horses⁵¹. This is, no doubt, a perfect example of the military service of the Chāran woman in the history of Mewār.

Bhāts

The Bhāts formed a caste different from that of the Chārāns. They were primarily genealogists and concerned themselves with the pedigree of families belonging to different castes. They received presents at weddings. They performed the duties of marriage negotiators and recited the genealogical history at public festivals. They were feared by the high families because, unless they were conciliated by presents, they could distort their history and expose them to social disgrace.

51. Qanungo, K.R., Studies in Rajput History,
Delhi, 1960, p. 45.

According to Tod, "The Chārāns and the Bhāṭs or bards belonged to the same class. They were genealogists. They were guardians of caravans carrying commercial goods through the wildest and most desolate regions. Their sacred character overawed the lawless Rājput chief, and even the savage Koli and Bhil and the plundering Sahrae of the desert, dread the anathema of these singular races....."⁵². Besides traditional functions the Bhāṭs engaged themselves in cultivation of land⁵³. Nāga was the chief bard in the time of Allāṭa⁵⁴. The bardic tradition on the basis of which was written Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān was derived mainly from the compositions attributed to the Chārāns and the Bhāṭs.

52. 'Personal Narrative', AR I. p. 740.

53. Sharma, G.N., op.cit., p. 97.

54. Verse 4, 'Āhār sārneśvara Temple Ins. of Allāṭa' (A.D. 953), Bhāv. Ins. p. 67; IA. LVIII. p. 161.

Occupational castes

Some castes in Mewār were occupational as they were known by their respective economic functions discharged for the society. They were Kumbhakāras (potters), Svarṇakāras (goldsmiths), Mālākāras (garland makers), Sūtradharas (carpenters), Rukumaras (silversmiths), Sūchikas (tailors) and Tailikas (oil pressers) known from the epigraphic records of Mewār⁵⁵. Besides their caste-occupations, they were also engaged in agriculture. The artisans, carpenters and goldsmiths were mostly associated with the royal house of Mewār⁵⁶. The Jāts, the Mālis, the Kiras and the Āhirs were mainly engaged in agriculture.

The lower castes

At the bottom in the caste system of Mewār were the untouchables or Chandāls. The general term

55. Bhāv. Ins., p. 67; RMR. 1921, p. 3; RMR. 1924, p. 3, 1926 p. 3, 1927 p. 3. Bhāv. Ins., p. 75 and p. 112, RMR. 1921, p. 3.

56. Ibid.

Chandāl included Kaṣāi, Chāmār, Balāi, Borā, Bhangī, Regar, Bhāmbhi etc. Butchers, sweepers, Tanners, Scavengers were included in this class. They lived outside the pale of the society. The occupation of butchery was followed by the Kaṣāi, that of tanning by the Chāmār, the Bolāi and the Regar, that of sweeping and scavenging by the Bhangī, that of skinning dead animals by Borā, and that of herding swine by the Bhāmbhi⁵⁷. The occupations indicate that they were looked down by the higher castes. We are informed by the Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1331) that Śīla took Jayasrī after bathing it with water from the edge of sword, as if it were polluted by touching the Chandālas⁵⁸. The Ekaliṅga Inscription (V.S. 1545) tells us that no higher class should show any kind of favour to them nor give them any charity. In the sculptures on the tower of victory at Chitor, where many classes of persons have been shown side by side, sweepers and other despised castes have been represented on a piece detached from the panels of

57. Sharma, G.N., op.cit., pp. 98-99.

58. Verse 20, Bhav. Ins., p. 75.

other classes. They have also been sculptured with a broom, winnower etc. as indicating objects for identifying them and for keeping others away from them⁵⁹. Besides their occupations, they also lived on agriculture.

slaves

During the Guhila regime, slavery was not unknown. It was mainly due to economic reasons that some people had to embrace slavery. There were people who were forced to sell themselves and their families to maintain their livelihood. The slaves were known as dāsa, dāsī, gola, goli, chākar etc. Examples are available to show that the slaves were those who were captured in the battle field. The Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1331) yields the information that as a result of the victory of Kālabhaja against his enemies, a crowd of maid-servants came under his authority⁶⁰. We are told by the Kumbhalgarh Inscription (A.D. 1460) that

59. Verse 10, Bhāv. Ins., p. 117, vide, Sharma, G.N., op.cit., p. 99.

60. Verse 23, Bhāv. Ins., p. 75.

Mañārāṇā Kumbhā defeated Muhammad and brought from Saraṅgapur a large number of warriors, men and women and made them slaves⁶¹. They had to do everything what their master desired. Sometimes they were used for domestic purposes, sometimes for military purposes. Like the untouchables, they were outside the pale of the society. They had no status in the society, no social or legal rights and their actual position depended on the attitude which their masters might adopt from time to time. They remained slaves hereditarily⁶². But Tod found in Mewār a peculiar form of slavery which he called the status of a 'bussie or property vasi, a settler, an inhabitant'. 'There is no task duty of any kind, nor is the individual accountable for his labour to any one; he pays the usual taxes, and the only tie upon him appears to be that of a compulsory residence in his vas'. It was a modified form of serfdom in which free person was tied to the soil⁶³.

61. Verses 252, 268-269, slab IV, E.I. XXI. pp. 277 ff; RIR. 1926, p. 3.

62. Banerjee, A.C., op.cit., pp. 127-128.

63. Ibid.

Inter-caste Relations

That the Guhila rulers were closely associated with the Brāhmaṇas is evident from their epigraphic records. They also had good relations with other occupational castes. The Brāhmaṇas were their family-priests who were donated lands. They served as Rājaguru of the royal family. Similarly, the Guhila kings had close relations with the merchants and money-lending class as well as cultivators. The Kshatriyas who served as soldiers of the Guhila rulers and also were engaged in agriculture were associated with the royal house. Goldsmiths, carpenters, and other occupational castes, often referred to as Śūdras, had close relations with each other as well as with the royal house. The close relations of the royal house with the Bhils have already been referred to. It was the policy of the Guhila rulers to maintain cordial inter-caste relations for the progress in polity, society and economy.

Inter-caste marriage

Inter caste marriages were not unknown in Mewār from early times. In the 10th century A.D., the Guhila king Allata married Hariyādevī, a Hūṇa princess⁶⁴. Chacha and Merā, the sons of Mahārāṇā Mokāla of Mewār, were born of a lady of the carpenter caste⁶⁵. Some of the Rājput kings had several wives, though they were not recognised as queens. From the Ekaliṅga Inscription (V.S. 1545) we come to know that after defeating the royal enemies on the battle-field, Rāṇā Kumbhā received their daughters in marriage⁶⁶. In the royal harem of the Rājput Rājās were several hundred ladies who belonged to various communities⁶⁷. Widowhood led to the inter-caste marriage among the lower class people⁶⁸. But the inter-caste marriage system, although prevalent among some sections of the society, did not pave the way towards an admixture of class-conscious castes.

64. Verse 5, 'Ātpur Inscription' (A.D. 977),

I.A. XXXIX, p. 191.

65. Nainsi, Khyāta f. 5a; vide. Sharma, G.N., op.cit., p. 115.

66. Bhāv. Ins., p. 117.

67. Sharma, G.N., op.cit., p. 116.

68. Mewar Residency, Ajmer, 1908, p. 238.

Social customs

Samakāras were attached with much importance in the social life of Mewār. Marriage was respected as a social obligation, although some kings, courtiers, śūdras and wealthier sections of the society like the mercantile class were polygamous. The birth of a male child was taken as a cause of great rejoicing and the occasion was observed with songs and distribution of coconuts and other articles. The birth of a female child was considered undesirable. Female infanticide was not unknown. The death or disappearance of a husband allowed lower class women to marry again. Prostitution existed side by side with polygamy and widowhood. Mahārāṇā Rāimal made it a rule that the property of a widow should not be confiscated⁶⁹.

The practice of Satī and Tauhar was common in Mewār. Women smilingly entered fire to save their honour or accompanied their dead husbands to

69. Paliwal, D.L. (ed.) Mewar Through the Ages, Udaipur, 1970, pp. 22-23 vide, Sharma, G.N., op.cit., p. 120.

the funeryal pyre to show their devotion to their husbands. Jauhar was a mass-suicide. Satī was an individual act of suicide by a widow when her husband died fighting in battle. We are told by the Chirwā Inscription (V.S. 1330) that Bholi, the wife of Balaka, being unable to bear the pains of separation (Balaka was killed in the battle-field) of her husband, became sati⁷⁰. The Rājput women in Mewār are known to have performed the rite of Jauhar to save their honour, when the fort of Chitor was occupied by Alāuddin Khalji⁷¹ in A.D. 1303.

Economic life

The most important aspect in the economic life of the people of Mewār was agriculture. "Though different political and social factors had affected the development of agriculture through centuries, the basic facts of land, soil, system of cultivation, product, rural manufactures

70. Verses 19-20, E.I. XXII, pp. 288ff.

71. HM. p. 61.

and industries, taxes etc had been the foundations of rural life and their effects had always been apparent in the rural economy"⁷². A large part of the Guhila kingdom consisted of rich fertile land watered by a number of rivers⁷³.

Land system

In Mewār there were different types of land. Among these, a type was known as Khālisāh land. By virtue of holding pāttās, the farmers were the occupiers of rights of mortgage and sale, and enjoyed an indestructible title to the land, so long as they paid the assessment upon it. This right, in a sense, was as a rule permanent and unlimited, and could be sold or passed on in inheritance. Khālisāh lands belonged to their holders for all practical purposes. These formed the first category of land which was sold, mortgaged and given on contracts⁷⁴.

72. Sharma, G.N., op.cit., p. 288.

73. Cf. Chap. I.

74. IGR (Pro.series), p. 123.

The second category of land was called Jāgir or fief held by Jāgirdārs as their share of right of inheritance. For example, the Rāṇās belonging to the Junior branch of the Guhilas were given jāgir of Śeśodā and came to be known as Śeśodīā clan⁷⁵. The holders of this category of land paid a fixed annual tribute.

The third category of land was the bhum held by the Bhumiās. They paid a nominal rent. If they did not neglect their duties, they could hold lands for ever. But these types of land could not be sold⁷⁶.

The fourth category of land was granted to the Brāhmaṇas⁷⁷, Chārāns, Bhāṭs and eminent respectable persons as well as for the maintenance of temple or monastery⁷⁸. This category of land was

75. DHNI. II. p. 1180.

76. Sharma, G.N., op.cit., p. 289.

77. E.I. XXX, p. I and p. 173; XXXIV, p. 170.

78. Lines 12-38, 'Kadmal Plates' (V.S. 1140),
E.I. XXXI, p. 237, RMR, 1922-23, p. 3.

called sāsan. The holders of such type of land did not have to pay any tax or tribute to the Guhila kings. The donees were conferred by the donors perpetual right of possession over land.

The fifth category of land was Charnota lands used for grazing of the cattle and belonged to the village community⁷⁹.

Agriculture

In Mewār, during our period, most of the cultivators came from various castes belonging to the Śūdra community. The scholarly Brāhmaṇas were the recipients of innumerable royal land grants⁸⁰. But the actual work of cultivation was in the hands of lower castes, the tillers of the land. The majority of the people working in the fields came from the Bhil and Minā tribes⁸¹. Agricultural prosperity of early mediaeval Mewār is evident from

79. Sharma, G.N., op.cit., p. 290.

80. E.I. XXX, p. I and p. 173, XXXIV, p. 170.

81. Mewar Residency (1908), pp. 229 ff.

the descriptions of the emerald like green rice fields mentioned in the epigraphic records of the period⁸². In the villages where irrigation facilities through wells and tanks existed, rose of rice - fields, rich rosary of pulses and fine fields of sugar-cane were found⁸³. Nainsi tells us that wheat, maize, hemp and pulses were sown in Mewār and rice, wheat, gram and pulses were produced in the Jargā valley. Wheat and gram were also grown in Uparmāl⁸⁴. Agricultural produces that we find in the present day Mewar are traditional. The location of Mewār within the river system of the Banās, the Berāch, the Khari, the Kothāri etc. helped a lot in the irrigation of agricultural lands. The poor people maintained their livelihood on the produces of the land and the surplus agricultural produces were sold in the local markets as well as in the towns of Āghāṭa, Nāgdā, Kumbhalgarh and Chitorgarh.

82. Verses 1-6, 'Chitor Ins.' (V.S. 1331), Bhāv. Ins. p. 75; verses 58-68, 'Kumbhalgarh Ins.' (A.D. 1460), 1st slab, E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

83. Verse 87, 'Ekaliṅga Ins.' (V.S. 1545), Bhāv. Ins. IX.

84. Khyāta, f. 12.

Two main crop seasons of Mewār were Kharif and Rabi. The Kharif crops were locally known as Siyālu, primarily rain fed, sown in the rainy season and harvested in the winter. The Rabi or the Unālu crops were mainly irrigated crops, sown in the winter and harvested in early summer. The Kharif crops are maize, jawar, cotton, pulses, ground-nut, sugar-cane and rice. The Rabi crops are wheat, barley, gram and oil-seed. Cotton is a cash crop of Mewār⁸⁵.

Fruits and vegetables were also grown in Mewār. Among the fruits, mention may be made of oranges, Papayas and musk.melons, guava, water-melon and custard apple or sharifā which had a wide growth all over Chitorgarh. Vegetables of the Kharif season of Mewār are cucumber (Kākri), bitter gourd (Karelā), bottle gourd (lauki), ridge gourd (tori), carrot (gājar), brinjal (baingān), spinach (palak), bhindi, tomatoes and raddish or molli⁸⁶.

85. Rajasthan District Gazetteers, 'Chitorgarh' (1977) pp. 92ff. Bhilwārā (1975) pp. 142ff, 'Udaipur' (1979) pp. 107-112.

86. Ibid, 'Chitorgarh' p. 98, 'Udaipur' p. 112.

The cultivators were generally undisturbed in their possessions, so long as they paid the land revenue. The village was the backbone of rural economy and the land formed the most important source from which the village derived its livelihood. Comparing God's Annals it has been pointed out by G.N. Sharma, "from the point of view of occupational structure, the Rājasthāni villages like the villages of the other parts of India were largely homogeneous units with land as a significant factor in the socio-economic life"⁸⁷. The cultivators' condition, as assessed from the number of taxes and cesses they had to pay, was subjected to oppressive exaction.

Some Guhila epigraphic records speak of the grant of villages yielding hiranya, bhāga, bhoga, uparikara etc.⁸⁸ This indicates that bhāga, bhoga, hiranya and uparikara were the most important taxes during the Guhila regime. The Brāhmaṇas, who were donated lands by the Guhilas, enjoyed rent-free holdings. Sometimes the land grant was made with a

87. Sharma, G.N. op.cit. p. 291.

88. E.I. XXX, p. I. and p. 173.

view to making provision for the performance of bali, caru, sattra, vaisvadeva and agnihotra by the donee. Agricultural products no doubt, formed the main source of state income which was collected in the form of different taxes.

Hiranya

A fiscal term 'niranya'⁸⁹ occurring in the Guhila records probably stands for a tax in cash'. The income from private lands accrued to the royal treasury from various sources. Hiranya was one of them. According to U.N. Ghosal, it was a tax in cash levied upon certain crops of special classes different from the tax in kind which was charged upon the ordinary crops⁹⁰ and the reason adduced by him is that the crops in question were difficult to divide. That hiranya was paid in cash is also suggested by Dhruva II's Barodā Grant⁹¹, a contemporary record.

89. Ibid.

90. Ghoshal, U.N., Contributions to the Hindu Revenue system, Cal, 1929, pp. 39, 62.

91. Acharya, G.V. The Historical Inscriptions of Gujrat, II. Bombay, 1935, No. 127, pp. 33-34.

Bhāga

'Bhāga'⁹², the state's share of the agricultural produce, could be one-sixth, one-eighth or one-twelfth of the yield of the grain from land⁹³. The rates of land revenue varied according to the variety of soil, the productivity of the crops and the means of irrigation.

Bhoga

'Bhoga'⁹⁴ was also an important source of revenue in the Guhila state. It was traditionally fixed at one-sixth of the produce. It was the periodical supply of fruits, firewood, flowers, milk, curd etc. which the people had to make to the king or his local agents⁹⁵. Probably it was the king's customary share of the produce from the territorial unit known as 'bhoga'.

92. E.I. XXX, p. I.

93. Ghosal, U.N., op.cit., p. 393.

94. E.I. XXX, p. I and p. 173.

95. Ghosal, U.N., op.cit., p. 394; vide, Misra, B.B., Polity in the Agni Purāṇa, Cal, 1965, p. 150.

Uparikara

'Uparikara'⁹⁶ was a tax paid by the temporary tenants. It was an additional levy of occasional nature. 'Uparikara' was probably the tax levied on cultivators who had no proprietary right in the soil⁹⁷.

Industry

Agricultural products, especially cash crops, formed the foundation of several crafts and industries in the villages. Small scale industries mostly flourished in Mewār. Cloth-making was an important industry and it was practised throughout Mewār⁹⁸. The people living in Chitor and Ahar were experts in printing, while Bhilwārā and Bigoḍ were the regions well-known for metal-work. Wood-work was a speciality of Kheraḍ area. On account of the growth of the capital town, iron-work and leather work

96. E.I. XXXIV, p. 170.

97. C.I.I. II, p. 98.

98. RMR. 1924, p. 2.

became a speciality. Due to constant war-condition in Rājasthan, the iron-workers, who provided weapons of war, came into prominence in Mewār. Refined work in metals and stones in general and in gold and silver in particular, developed in towns of importance⁹⁹. Nathdwārā was famous for jewelled workmanship on silver and gold¹⁰⁰. The Kumbhalgarh Inscription (1460 A.D.) tells us that Mahārāṇā Mokāla set up a lion, cast of the amalgam of all metals, as a vehicle of Devī and presented a gold Garuḍa to Viṣṇu¹⁰¹. Inscriptions of the period engraved on stone or copper-plates were some examples of stone and metal work. The inscriptions have preserved the names of engravers who inscribed the royal charters either on stone or copper plates¹⁰².

99. Sharma, G.N., 'Society and Culture in mediaeval Mewar' in Mewar Through The Ages, Paliwal, D.L. (ed.) Udaipur, 1970, p. 29.

100. Cunningham, A., Archaeological Survey of Northern India, vol. XXIII, pp. 99-101; IGR (Pro. series), p. 141.

101. Verses 224-225, 'Kumbhalgarh Inscription' (1460 A.D.), Slab IV, E.I. XXI, pp. 277 ff.

102. E.I. IV, pp. 31-32; Bhāv. Ins. VI verses 4-5 p. 100; RMR. 1924-25, p. 3.

Iron was used for manufacturing both agricultural implements and weapons of war. Brass and copper would have been used for house-hold utensils and coins and precious metals were used for making ornaments and also coins¹⁰³. The sāmoli Inscription (A.D. 646) refers to the setting up of an ākara or mine, which became a source of livelihood for the people during the regin of Śilāditya¹⁰⁴. House - building industry had grown in early mediaeval and mediaeval Mewār, as we come to know from the Chitor¹⁰⁵, Mount Ābu¹⁰⁶, and Kumbhalgarh Inscriptions¹⁰⁷. The towns and cities within the Guhila kingdom were full of residential houses, beautiful temples, palaces, places of public utility. Their erection would have required architectural skill of those who are known as attalikākaras in the Purāṇas.

103. JNSI. XX, Pt. I, pp. 26 ff.

104. Lines 5-7, E.I. XX, p. 97.

105. Verse 6-10, Bhāv. Ins. p. 75.

106. Verse 7, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

107. Verses 20-40, 1st slab, 'Kumbhalgarh Inscription'

(1460 A.D.) Slab IV, E.I. XXI, pp. 277ff.

Trade and Commerce

The capital cities of Mewār like Nāgdā, Āhār and Chitor were the centres of trade and commerce. Nāgdā had great importance upto the beginning of the 10th century A.D. From the middle of the 10th century A.D. Āghāṭa became the capital city and centre of trade and commerce. From the time of Jaitrasīṃha (1213-1252 A.D.) in the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Chitor came into prominence not only as the capital but also as a centre of trade and commerce¹⁰⁸. Except these three main cities, the other centres of trade and commerce were Kumbhalgarh, Māṇḍalgarh, Dilwārā and Bhilwārā. In the early mediaeval period (7th century A.D.), a Mahājana community migrated to Mewār and started an āgara or ākara or mine¹⁰⁹. There are evidences to suggest that the merchants from outside visited the commercial cities of Mewār on business purpose and thus the inter-provincial

108. These inferences are drawn from the epigraphic records like Nāgdā Inscription (A.D. 661), Āhār Śarṇeśvara Temple Inscription (A.D. 953), Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1331), Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342), Kumbhalgarh Inscription (1460 A.D.) etc.

109. Lines 5-7, 'Sāmoli Inscription' (A.D. 646),
E.I. XX, p. 97.

commercial intercourse was promoted. We are told by the Āhār Sārneśvara Temple Inscription of Allāṭa (A.D. 953) that Āhār was frequently visited by the merchants of Kaṇṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Madhyadeśa and Ṭakka. Elephants, horses and other animals entering the market with goods for sale were charged¹¹⁰.

The Bhils, the Minās and the Medas were notorious freebooters and exacted transit duties from the traders passing through their territories. The route to Māṇḍāsore and eastern Mālwa passed through Chitorgarh¹¹¹. An ancient trade route from Gujrāt to Delhi passed through Rikhabdeva, Āhār, Ākaliṅgi, Dilwārā or Gogundā, Mohi and Bhilwārā in Mewār¹¹². The natural resources, the agricultural produces and the industrial products in Mewār appear to have attracted the attention of Śreṣṭhis and Sārthavāhas from other parts of the country.

110. Verses 10-13, I.A. LVIII, p. 161; Bhāv. Ins. p.67.

111. Sharma, D., Rajasthan Through the Ages, vol. I, Bikaner, 1966, pp. 491-492.

112. Somani, R.V., History of Mewar, Jaipur, 1976, p.7.

Customs and Duties

From the epigraphic records of the Guhilas, it is learnt that levies were made on articles of trade and commerce. One dramma used to be taken on an elephant, two rupakas on a horse, 1/40th of a dramma on a horned animal, one tulā for a lota and one ādhaka from a hotta. On the 11th day of the bright fortnight of a month, collection was made of one ghatikā palā of milk from every iron saucepan, one petaka (amount of money) from the gamblers, one palā of oil from every oil mill, one rupaka from the randham at the end of a month and one Chatushar (four stringed garland) from the flower-sellers everyday. From the shop of a seller of worn out clothes and ornament one tulā and one ādhaka used to be taken on the 11th of the bright fortnight, a small pail of milk from the shop of confectioners. All these informations are supplied by the Āhār Sarneśvara Temple Inscription (A.D. 953) of Allāṭa¹¹³.

113. I.A. LVIII, p. 161, Tulā was a measure of weight of gold and silver about 145 ounces troy. Ādhaka was a measure of grain.

Another record of the time of Rājā Kumbhā referring to some levies was found at Dilwārā and was dated V.S. 1491 (A.D. 1434). It records that during his reign 14 taṅkas (silver coins) were allotted for the worship of Dharma Chintāmoni Temple having been collected from different sources such as :

5 Taṅkas from the Māndvi (Custom house);
4 from Mapa tax; 2 from Manahedavata tax; 2 from Kharivata (salt tax) and 1 from Patasutriya (Cloth tax) of Dilwārā¹¹⁴.

The Dārīpā Temple Inscription (A.D. 1302), of course, records that 16 drammas were gifted to the temple by some persons¹¹⁵. The Agni-Purāṇa refers to Upahāra, that is, tributes made by the feudatories, chiefs and subjects to their overlords and kings. For the maintenance of the temple, the flower-sellers, other businessmen and persons having different occupations made gifts to the temple, which can be termed as 'Upahāra'.

114. RMR. 1924 p. 3.

115. RMR. 1927 p. 3.

Medium of exchange

The character of the medium of exchange under the Guhila rule may be traced from the epigraphic records. The Āhār sārneśvara Temple Inscription (A.D. 953) refers to the circulation of coins such as rupaka, dramma and drammardhavimsaka (1/40th of the dramma) in the local market¹¹⁶. Another contemporary epigraph from this place, now preserved in the Udaipur museum, mentions an award of 14 drammas for the local sun-temple¹¹⁷. The Kharataragachcha Brihadgurvāvoli states that Naravarman, the Paramāra king of Mālwa, was requested by Muni Jinavallabha to grant an amount of two Pārutha drammas per day from the custom-house of Chitor for the maintenance of Vidhichaityas¹¹⁸. The Pāruttha Drammas used to be accepted in the markets of Chitor in the 12th century A.D. The inscription of V.S. 1228 (A.D. 1171) in the Temple of Ruthirāni at Dhod, near Jahājpur in Mewār, presents an interesting

116. I.A. LVIII, p. 161.

117. E.I. IX, pp. 161ff.

118. Jain, K.C., Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan, Delhi, 1972, p. 226.

reference to the silver drammas issued by Ajayadeva, the Chauhān ruler of Ajmer¹¹⁹. It has been already suggested that the Dāribā Temple Inscription (A.D. 1302) records a religious donation of 16 drammas for the local temple¹²⁰. The Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1335) also refers to the awards of drammas from the custom-houses of Chitor, Āhār, Sohada and Sajjanapura in Mewār¹²¹. References to Taṅkas, Kanakataṅkas, Phadiyā coins, Ghadiyā coins, Dhīṅglā paisā made of silver and copper are also found in the epigraphic records of the time of Mahārāṇā Lākhā, Mokāl and Kumbhā. William Wilfred Webb has observed that the coins of Mewār were the class of coins of Indo-Sāssānian silver, copper and mixture of metals in various proportion¹²². R.L. Samar has brought to our notice a hoard of coins of different Guhila rulers¹²³. The discovery of silver

119. Agarwal, R.C., 'Literary evidence for the Coinage of Mewar', JNSI. XX, p. 15; vide JNSI. XVII, pp. 64-82.

120. RMR. 1927, p. 3.

121. RMR. 1923, p. 3.

122. 'Mewar Currencies', Currencies of the Hindu States of Rajputana, Westminster, 1891, pp. 1-20.

123. Samar, R.L., 'Ancient Coins of Mewar', JNSI. XX, Pt. I (1955) pp. 26 ff.

coins of Guha and gold coin of Bāppā indicate that the economic life of Mewār during the Guhila period, on the whole, showed symptoms of progress. It remains true, however, that the economic status of the urban people was distinguished from that of the rural people. The economy had its base in the rural areas, whereas the superstructure of the economy was set up in cities and towns.

Religious life

Religious life was closely associated with the daily life of the people of Mewār. The ruling kings and chiefs, the ministers and rich merchants spent a lot of money for the construction of temples at holy places as well as for other religious purposes. Such humanitarian activities of the higher class of people and men of position benefitted the ordinary people of Mewār. In addition to the temple-building activities, pilgrimages constituted an important phenomenon of the religious life of the people of Mewār.

Jainism

During the period of our study Jainism was popular in Mewār. Although the Guhila rulers were śaivites, they were not intolerent to other religious sects including the Jainas. Many Jaina saints and missionaries came from outside and settled in Mewār. The spread of Jainism was largely due to the efforts of celebrated Jaina monks of various orders. Jainism was followed mostly by the trading class, the wealthier section of the society. We have information about different schools of Jaina monks, namely, Kharatara, Tapā, Anchala, Sander, Lukā, Kamal-Kalash, Braliman and Sagara Gachchhas, who took leadership in the construction of a large number of temples¹²⁴.

Jainism spread in Mewār as early as the 5th century B.C., according to some scholars. An inscription found at Bādālāi, the date of which is read by G.H. Ojha as year 84 of Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa Samvat, belonged to the 5th century B.C.¹²⁵. But

124. 'Jaina Inscriptions' listed by Sharma, G.N. in Social Life in Mediaeval Rajasthan, Agra, 1968, p. 212.

125. Bhāratiya Prāchīna Lipimālā, pp. 2ff.

D.C. Sircar takes the date as second or 1st century B.C.¹²⁶. It is suggested that Priyagrantha, the second pupil of Susthita and Supratibuddha, founded the Majhamikā branch of the Jaina church organization after the name of the place Madhyamikā (Nāgari) near Chitor in the 2nd century B.C.¹²⁷ An inscription of the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. found at the same place states that something was constructed for the welfare of all living beings¹²⁸. The record might belong to the Jainas. The next record that informs us of the Jaina faith in Mewār is dated A.D. 687 and incised on a pair of images of Rishabhadeva found in the temple of Vasantgarh¹²⁹. Jainism made striking progress from the 10th century A.D. and gained a firm footing. Jaina saints like Haribhadra, Pradyumna, Siddhasena, Bhuvanachandra, Jagachandra, Jinavallabha and Hemachandra visited various towns and villages of

126. JBORs. XXXVII, p. 38.

127. Cf. Jain, K.C., Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan, Delhi, 1972, pp. 530-531.

128. URI. I. p. 54.

129. APJIS, No. 365.

Mewār for the propagation of Jainism. They voiced firm resistance against the abuses of the society and laid emphasis on building of moral character. By their visit and propagation, different places in Mewar turned to be Jaina holy places.

Centres of Jainism

Chitor

It is learnt from the Prabhāvakacharita that Chitor was visited by the famous Jaina philosopher Siddhasena Divākara¹³⁰ who lived in the 5th century A.D.¹³¹. He was a priest of Jitāri, the ruler of Chitrakūṭa. But it is not known to which dynasty Jitāri belonged¹³². Kriṣṇaṛshi visited Chitor, initiated a person to monkhood and made him āchārya¹³³. Vimalasūri also made his efforts for the expansion of Jainism during this period. In the 12th century A.D. Chitrakūṭa was the centre of Vidhimārga propagated by Jinavallabha. He inscribed all his Chitrakāvyas on

130. Muni Jinavijaya (ed.), Prabhāvakacharita, p. 24.

131. Jain, K.C., op.cit., pp. 230-231.

132. Muni Jinavijaya (ed.), Puratānaprabandhasaṅgraha, Cal, 1936, pp. 103-105.

133. Jain, K.C., op.cit., p. 231.

the stones of Virachaitya. His Dharmasikshā and Saṅghapattaka were engraved on both sides of the walls of the Chaitya¹³⁴. The Pattāvali of Mulasāṅgha tells us that ten pontificates were established at this place¹³⁵. When Kumārapāla Chaulukya visited Chitor in the 12th century A.D., there was a prosperous colony of the Digambara Jains on the hills. In the 12th century A.D. Chitor was considered as a holy place of the Jainas¹³⁶.

Samarasīmha and his mother Jaytallādevī were greatly influenced by the discourses of Devendrasūri and became his devotees. We can not rule out the possibility that it was due to his advice that Jaytallādevī, queen of Tejasīmha who was the lord of Chitrakūṭa, constructed the temple of Pārśvanātha, as it is stated in the Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1335). We are told by the same record that Samarasīmha, the successor of

134. Peterson's Report (Bombay, 1883-84), p. 152.

135. I.A. XXI, p. 61.

136. PRAS, WC, 1904, p. 45; GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.

Tejasimha, granted a piece of land for a monastery to Pradyumna Sūri with some endowments¹³⁷. Another inscription also records the grant of land to a Jaina temple belonging to the Bhartripuriya gachchha for the spiritual welfare of his mother¹³⁸. Jinabhadrasūri who rendered valuable service to the cause of Jainism in mediaeval period caused the Jaina temple to be built in the 14th century A.D.¹³⁹

Āghāṭa or Āhār

Āghāṭa or Āhār was one of the holy places of the Jainas. Pradyumnasūri is said to have defeated in debate the Digambara saints in the royal court of Allāṭa at Āghāṭa¹⁴⁰. It is known from the Rasasaṅgraha that the minister of Allāṭa built the Jaina temple and got the image of Pārśvanātha installed through Yaśābhadrasūri of Sanderka gachchha, who passed away in 972 A.D. This

137. RMR. 1923, No. 8. p. 3.

138. Ibid. No. 9.

139. JSP. XVI, p. 16.

140. JSSI. fn. 18 p. 92.

is further confirmed by the Jaina Inscription found on Devakulika of the Jaina temple¹⁴¹. Dhanadeva, who lived in the 10th century A.D., refers to the temple of Mahāvīra in his poem Satyapuriya Mahāvīra Utsāha¹⁴². Siddhasena Sūri, an author of the 12th century, refers to this place in the śakalatirtha-stotra. Jaitrasīmha, the famous ruler of Mewār, gave Jagachandrasūri, a great Jaina ascetic, the title Tapā at Āghāṭa in 1228 A.D.¹⁴³. Jayatasīmha and Samuddhara, who were the Chief ministers of Jaitrasīmha and Tejasīmha respectively, were patrons of Jainism. By the inspiration of the Jaina saints, some copies of manuscripts were prepared under the royal patronage. Jhanjhana in the company of his teacher organized the Samgha at the holy places and visited Āghāṭa¹⁴⁴.

141., URI. I. p. 133.

142. JSS. III. p. I.

143. GOS. LXXVI, p. 156.

144. JSSI. p. 39.

Nāgdā

Nāgdā was a place of pilgrimage of the Jainas. It was visited by the Jaina saints from time to time. The Lāta Vāgada gurvāvali of Digambar Jains mentions that Prabhachandra, who became famous by composing Vividhāchār, defeated the Śaivas in the court of Naravāhana¹⁴⁵. The Digambara Jains might have lived in Nāgdā, where the Alokpārśvanātha temple of the Jains of the 10th century A.D. still exists¹⁴⁶. Madanakīrti, the disciple of Viśālakīrti, in the 13th century A.D. prayed to Pārśvanātha of Nāghrāda along with other Tirthaṅkaras in the Śāsanachatuśtrimastikā¹⁴⁷. Jinaprabhasūri refers to it in his Vividhatirthakalpa, written in A.D. 1332¹⁴⁸. Sundarasūri composed an independent stotra as a mark of devotion to Nāghrāda Pārśvanātha¹⁴⁹. The Ghāgghā stone Inscription (V.S. 1322) mentions that the Prasasti was composed by Ratnaprabhasūri, son of

145. Somani. R.V., op.cit., p. 55.

146. 'Bijauliā Ins.' (A.D. 1169), E.I. XXVI.
pp. 109-112.

147. JSAI. p. 248.

148. VTK. pp. 86 and 106.

149. JSP. IV, p. 25.

Bhuvanachandrasūri¹⁵⁰. The temple of Padmāvatī of the present times was originally the famous temple of Pārśvanātha. This temple was destroyed by Iltutmish, was rebuilt and new images were installed. Pāśadeva and Saṃgharāma placed an image of Pārśvanātha in A.D. 1299¹⁵¹. In A.D. 1334 Kelha repaired the shrine of Pārśvanātha¹⁵². The Digambara Jains held sway over Nāgdā during the reign of Kumbhakarna. The Jain temple of Adbhudji contains a wonderful image of Śāntinātha. It was constructed by a merchant during Kumbhā's reign¹⁵³. From the Bijauliā Rock Inscription (A.D. 1169) it is known that Bijauliān, Māṇḍalgarh and uparmāl were the centres of Jaina pilgrimage¹⁵⁴.

Buddhism

It is difficult to determine when Buddhism first spread in Mewār. The discovery of a small

150. RMR. 1927, p. 3.

151. PRAS WC, 1905-06, p. 63.

152. Ibid. No. 2243.

153. PRAS, WC, 1905, p. 61.

154. Verses 63-71, E.I. XXVI, pp. 99-102.

votive stupa at Chitor seems to indicate the existence of some followers of Buddhism. It has been claimed that the Bonāi Grant refers to Buddhist Mayuravaṁśa that originally hailed from Chitrakūṭa mountain¹⁵⁵. In the Ekaliṅga Inscription (971 A.D.), it is recorded that a great debate was held in the court of Naravāhana among the Śaivas, Jāinas and Buddhists, wherein the Śaivas came out victorious¹⁵⁶. It appears that Buddhism did not hold a position of importance in Mewār.

Brāhmanism

Brāhmanical beliefs and practices are often referred to in the epigraphic records of Mewār. In the first century B.C. Gajāyana Sarvatāta of Gaja family performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice at Madhyamika near Chitor, as stated in the Ghosundi Inscription¹⁵⁷. The Nāndasā yupa Pillar Inscription (A.D. 225) found at Nāndasā in Mewār mentions that Nandisoma of the

155. Jain, K.C., op.cit., p. 230.

156. JBERAS. XXII, pp. 166-167.

157. E.I. XXII, p. 205 ; E.I. XVI, p. 25 ;
I.A. LVIII, p. 229.

sogi clan, the Mālava leader, performed a shastirātra yajna at Nāndasā¹⁵⁸. This yajna was probably performed to commemorate a victory against the Mahākshatrapas of Ujjain. The Vājapeya sacrifice was performed in the 4th century A.D. at Madhyamikā (Nāgarī) by some ruler, and his sons erected a yupa in order to commemorate the event¹⁵⁹. The Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1331) informs us that Bāppā performed the Vedic sacrifices and established the yajnastambha on the Vēdi of the land of Nāgdā and worshipped the lotus-like feet of Hārīt Rāsi¹⁶⁰. We are told by the Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342) that Hārīt Rāsi's austerities and penances were supplemented by a series of sacrifices for the benefit of the world¹⁶¹. Rāṇā Kshetrasīmha and Mahārāṇā Kumbhā were performers of the Vedic sacrifices¹⁶². Mahārāṇā

158. E.I. XXVII, p. 252 ; VIII. p. 36.

159. URI. I, p. 55.

160. Verse 9, Bhāv. Ins. p. 75.

161. Verses 9-11, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

162. Verse 81, 2nd slab, 'Kumbhalgarh Ins.'
(1460 A.D.); verse 33, 'Ekaliṅga Ins.'
(V.S. 1545), Sharma, G.N., op.cit., p. 180.

Mokāla is said to have made Brāhmaṇas to give up husbandry and devote themselves to the study of the Vedas¹⁶³.

Āhār was a great centre of Brāhmaṇical religion. It was famous by the name of Gangobhed Tirtha in early times as mentioned in the Bijauliā Rock Inscription (A.D. 1169)¹⁶⁴. From the archaeological, epigraphic and literary sources it is learnt that Chitor was another centre of Brāhmaṇical religion. Sacrifices and Brāhmaṇical rites were very much in prevalence over there¹⁶⁵.

Vaiṣṇavism

The Ghosundi Inscription (first century B.C.), found in Mewār, records the construction of a stone

163. Verse 217, 4th slab, 'Kumbhalgarh Ins.'
(1460 A.D.), E.I. XXI, p. 277.

164. E.I. XXVI, p. 99.

165. 'Chitorgarh Ins.' (A.D. 1150) of Kumārāpāla,
E.I. II, pp. 421-424; 'Chitor Ins.' (V.S. 1485),
E.I. XII, p. 408 ; Kharataragochhapattavoli,
p. 10.

wall round the hall of worship of Śaṅkarshana, Balarāma and Vāsudeva by Sarvatāta of the Gaja family¹⁶⁶. From the first century B.C. Vaiṣṇava religion, in its various stages and forms, continued to flourish in Mewār. The Mount Ābu Inscription dated V.S. 1342 (A.D. 1285) tells us that Bhoja (6th century A.D.), an early ruler of the Guhila family, was the worshipper of Viṣṇu¹⁶⁷. Aparājita's Inscription (A.D. 661) begins with an invocation to god Viṣṇu and Hari. It also records that Yaśomatī, the wife of Varahasimha (the latter was the leader of forces of Aparājita), built a temple of Viṣṇu¹⁶⁸ in the 7th century A.D. Bhartripaṭṭa II (A.D. 943) was probably a devotee of Varāha Viṣṇu¹⁶⁹. The Āhār Sārnesvara Temple Inscription (V.S. 1010) records the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu in his Varāha-form¹⁷⁰. Kumārapāla Chaulukya built the temple

166. I.A. LVIII, p. 229.

167. Verse 13, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

168. Verses 1-2, 6-8, 'Nāgdā Inscription' (A.D. 661), E.I. IV, pp. 31-32. The 'Chirwā Inscription' (V.S. 1330), verse 37 tells us that a beautiful temple of Viṣṇu was built by Uddharana, E.I. XXII, p. 288.

169. 'Āhār Ins.' of Bhartripaṭṭa II (A.D. 943), RMR. 1914, p. 2, also JIH. XXV, pp. 355ff.

170. Verse 1, I.A. LVIII, p. 161 ; Bhāv. Ins., p. 67.

of Varāha in Chitor probably in A.D. 1150¹⁷¹. The Mirā Bāi Temple of Chitor was erected by Maharāṇā Kumbhā in A.D. 1448 which is said to be dedicated to god Varāha or the boar-incarnation of Vishṇu¹⁷². Two inscriptions dated A.D. 1459, now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur, record that they were installed at Kumbhalgarh by Maharāṇā Kumbhā. The Kumbhalgarh Inscription (A.D. 1460) contains a description of Gadādhara, that is Vishṇu, whose temple at Chitor was situated near the Mahālakshmi temple. This temple is generally associated with four-handed Vishṇu¹⁷³. According to the Śringi Rishi Inscription (V.S. 1485), Mokāla adorned Nārāyaṇa in the form of Varāha of Pushkar, being himself a devotee of the illustrious Nārāyaṇa¹⁷⁴. So from the epigraphic records it appears that Vaiṣṇavism was followed by the rulers and the ruled. Four inscriptions dated V.S. 1505 record the

171. RMR. 1930-31, p. 4.

172. Verse 56, 1st slab, E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

173. Ibid. verses 51-54.

174. Verse 17, RMR. 1925, p. 2.

installation of the images of Śrīdhara, Kṛṣṇa-Rukminī, Rāma-Lakshmana and Mādhava-Tulsī by Rānā Kumbhā in Chitor¹⁷⁵. It is stated by Nainsi that in the 16th century A.D. a brother of Rānā Pratāp repaired the temple of Varāha at Pushkar¹⁷⁶.

Centres of Vaishnavism

The pilgrimage played an important part in the religious life of Mewār. To gain punya, the Mewāris travelled throughout India, paying homage to different divinities. Similarly, people from different places, especially of North-western India, used to visit the holy places of Mewār.

Nāthdwārā

Nāthdwārā stands 30 miles to the north-east of modern Udaipur city, on the right bank of the river Banās. According to Tod "Nāthdwārā is one of the most frequented places of pilgrimage....."¹⁷⁷.

175. RMR. 1917-18, p. 2.

176. Cf. Sharma, G.N., op.cit., p. 197.

177. AR. I. p. 551.

The town has one of the most famous shrines of Pushtimārg sect, in which a boy-sized image of Kṛishṇa called Śrīnāthji is enshrined, which is dated in the 8th century A.D.¹⁷⁸. Nāthdwārā is the place where thousands of Vaiṣṇava devotees gathered to participate in the religious festivals of Annakūṭa, Janmāṣṭamī and Dola¹⁷⁹.

Other holy places of Vaishnava importance

Kaṅkroli and Garbor were places of Vaiṣṇava pilgrimage. The temples of Kṛishṇa at Kadiyan, Chitor and Ekalingji indicate that Vaishnava devotees might have come there¹⁸⁰. Rāṇā Kumbhā constructed a temple of Kumbhā Śhyām at Kumbhalgarh. The rulers and the people of Mewār were by no means less

178. Sharma, G.N., Glories of Mewar, Agra, p. 59.

179. Sharma, G.N., Social Life in Mediaeval Rajasthan, Agra, 1968, p. 208.

180. The Śas Bahu group of shrines at Nāgdā, which was originally dedicated to Vishṇu and the temple of Ādi Varāha at Āhār also indicate that these places may have been famous for Vaishnava pilgrimage, cf, Jain, K.C., op.cit., pp. 218-219.

enthusiastic in the cause of Vaishnavism. The name of Mīrā has become immortal for her devotion to Krishna¹⁸¹.

The Chātsu Inscription of Guhila Bālāditya of the Chātsu (Jaipur area) branch, refers to the episode in which a gopī, obliged to remain away from Kṛishna, gives up the ghost and thus becomes the first to be united with Him¹⁸². It indicates the popularity of the Kṛishna legend even outside the boundaries of Mewār.

Śaivism

Śaivism was widely prevalent in Mewār during our period. Of all the divinities, Śiva was considered to be the highest god in Mewār, as it is known from some epigraphic records, literary texts as well as archaeological remains.

181. Paliwal, D.L. (ed.), Mewar Through the Ages, Udaipur, 1970, pp. 24-25.

182. E.I. XII, p. 10.

Śiva appears to have been the tutelary divinity of the Guhila rulers. The Ekalinga Inscription (971 A.D.) of Naravāhana, belonging to the Guhila branch of Mewār (Nāgdā-Āhār), for the first time refers to the worship of Ekalingaji¹⁸³. The inscription also informs us that Naravāhana sought protection of Śaṅkara, lord of Pārvatī and daughter of Giri¹⁸⁴. Bāppā, an early ruler of the family, who flourished much earlier than Naravāhana was a great devotee of Ekalinga. Both literary tradition and epigraphic records throw light on the religious faith professed by Bāppā¹⁸⁵.

Mewār was full of Śaiva temples of which the best known is the temple of Ekalinga Mahādeva, that is traditionally believed to have been the first shrine built by Mahārāwāl Bāppā. The Śaivas were

183. Line 16, Bhāv. Ins., p. 69.

184. Ibid. Line 9.

185. AR. I. p. 243 ; verses 10-11, 'Chitor Ins.' V.S. 1331, Bhāv. Ins., p. 75 ; verse 10, 'Mount Ābu Ins.' (V.S. 1342) I.A. XVI, p. 347 ; Line 12, 'Ekalinga Ins.' (V.S. 1545), Bhāv. Ins. p. 117.

probably divided into a number of groups of which the Lakulisa sect was more prominent than others. One of the followers of Lakulisa is named Hārīta, who is regarded as the last incarnation of Śiva. He established himself at Nāgahrada or Nāgdā near Udaipur. The name of Hārīta is associated with a number of epigraphic records found in Mewār¹⁸⁶. Hārīta and his disciples preached the Pāsūpata doctrine among the rulers and the ruled in Mewār. As Hārīta was held in high esteem, he was invited to be the chief Priests at the temple of Ekalinga. Bāppā became the chief disciple of Hārīta¹⁸⁷. Hārīta bestowed on his pupil Bāppā the title of Regent (Dewān) of Ekalinga¹⁸⁸. Henceforth, the Guhila Rāṇās were represented as the diwāns of god Ekalinga. Tradition has it that when the Guhila rulers visited the temple of Ekalinga, they themselves performed the

186. Verses 9-12, 'Chitor Ins.' (V.S. 1331), Bhāv. Ins., p. 75 ; verses 8-11 ; 'Mount Ābu Ins.' (V.S. 1342), I.A. XVI, p. 347 ; verses 11-16, 'Ekalinga Ins.' (V.S. 1545), Bhāv. Ins., p. 117.

187. Ibid.

188. AR. I. p. 243.

priestly functions without waiting for the Priest. The Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1331) invokes the blessing of Śiva by addressing him as Ekalingaji, Samadhiśvara and Chandrachuda¹⁸⁹. The Chirwā Inscription (V.S. 1330) opens with an eulogy to god Mahādeva Yogarājesvara¹⁹⁰. In the Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342) obeisance is first made to Śiva who is addressed also as Achalesvara¹⁹¹. The Ekalinga Inscription (V.S. 1545) eulogies Śiva and Śaṅkara in the first verse¹⁹².

The temple of Ekalingaji which, according to the tradition, was built by Bāppā, was repaired by Mahārāṇā Kumbhā and later re-constructed by Rāimal¹⁹³. Mokāla devoted himself to the god Samadhiśvara or Śiva, repaired his (Śiva's) temple at Chitor and

189. Verses 1-3, Bhāv. Ins., p. 75.

190. Verse 1, E.I. XXII, p. 288.

191. Verse 1, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

192. Bhāv. Ins., p. 117.

193. Verses 23-24, 1st slab, 'Kumbhalgarh Inscription' (1460 A.D.), E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

added a gateway to it¹⁹⁴. Out of devotion to Ekaliṅgaji, he restored the ruined temple and built a high toraṇa¹⁹⁵. The Dhāreśvara (Śiva) temple at Ekaliṅgaji was built by Rāwāl Samarasimha¹⁹⁶. The Ekaliṅga Inscription (V.S. 1545) tells us that Hāmmira used to collect revenue for the daily worship of Śaṅkara. The same record furnishes us the information that Lakshmanasimha made a gift of the town of Chirwā for the maintenance of Ekaliṅga. We are further told by the record that the village of Vandhanvāda and Rāmagrāma were assigned to Ekaliṅga by Mokāla¹⁹⁷. The Kadmal Plates (V.S. 1140) begin with the praise of Śrī Ekaliṅga, the guardian-deity of the ruling house of Mewār and obeisance is paid to Śiva in the words, 'Om Namaḥ Śivāya'¹⁹⁸.

194. Verses 222-223, 4th slab, 'Kumbhalgarh Inscription' (1460 A.D.), E.I. XXI, pp. 277 ff.

195. Ibid. verses 239-241.

196. Ibid. verses 34-35, 1st slab and V. 167 of the 3rd slab.

197. Verses 26, 37 and 46, 'Ekaliṅga Inscription' (V.S. 1545).

198. E.I. XXXI, p. 237.

Not only the Guhila rulers of the main branch, but also the collateral branches of the Guhilas as well as other contemporary dynasties who came to rule in Mewār were devoted to Śiva and extended their patronage to Śaivism. It is learnt from the Kalyāṇpur Stone Inscription (7th century A.D.) of the time of Mahārāja Paḍḍa (Kiṣkindhā branch) that a person named Amnaya built a temple of the god Sulin (Śiva) in the rājya of illustrious Mahārāja Paḍḍa, and bowed down to Śaṅkara with his hands, feet, mind and head¹⁹⁹. The Dungarpur plate of Bhāviḥita or the Grant of Bhāviḥita (H.E. 48) describes Devagaṇa, the Pitrivya of Bhāviḥita, as the devout worshipper of the god Mahesvara or Śiva²⁰⁰. The Kalyāṇpur Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Kaḍachi (8th century A.D.) begins with salutation to Śiva. Then follow three stanzas expressing devotion to the god Śiva. Kaḍachi's wife constructed a Śiva temple²⁰¹. Śaiva sculptures have

199. Sircar, D.C., Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā, Cal. 1965, pp. 60 and 71.

200. Lines 2-6, E.I. XXXIV, p. 170 ; Sircar, D.C., op.cit., p. 60.

201. Line 1 and 5-6, Sircar, D.C., op.cit., p. 67 and p. 76.

been found in and around Kalyānpur. The Nāsun (Ajmer) Inscription (A.D. 830) records the dedication of an image of Śiva in the reign of Iśānabhaṭa, son of Dhaṇika²⁰². The Dabok Inscription (found near Udaipur) of Guhila Dhaṇika begins with an obeisance to god Śiva and states that Dhaṇika made permanent endowments of some fields for two temples, one of which was of Mahāmaheśvara, that is, Mahādeva or Śiva²⁰³. Most of the early Śaiva temples that were probably managed by the Pāsūpatas at one time, have been found at Bijauliā, Maināl, Badoli and Nāgdā²⁰⁴. The Chirwā Inscription (V.S. 1330) states that Madana, the talāraksha of Chitor, worshipped Śiva in the temple of Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa built in Chitor by the Paramāra king Bhoja²⁰⁵. The Chāhamāna rulers built splendid Śiva temples in the present Māṇḍalgarh and Jahājpur districts of Mewār²⁰⁶.

202. I.A. LIX, p. 21.

203. Lines 1-3, E.I. XX, pp. 187 ff.

204. Sharma, D., Rajasthan Through the Ages, Bikaner, 1966, p. 375.

205. Verses 30-31, E.I. XXII, p. 288.

206. Sharma, D., op.cit., p. 375.

Not only the kings but also the feudatory chiefs and common citizens built Śaiva temples to obtain spiritual merit for themselves. Charitable persons took keen interest in the construction of temples of Śiva, endowing them with land and money²⁰⁷.

The Śaiva saints residing in the Śaiva temples and monasteries resorted to the use of ashes, barks and matted hair. Some of the ascetics were naked. They worshipped the god Ekaliṅga, belonging to the Pāśupata line. Śrī Vedāṅgamuni, the celebrated dialectician, who lived in the temple of Ekaliṅgi and Nāgdā in the 10th century A.D. defeated the disputants of the Jaina, Buddhist and other sects²⁰⁸.

Centres of Śaivism

Nāgdā

Nāgdā or Nāgahrada, situated fourteen miles to the north of Udaipur city, was a centre of

207. 'Bijauliā Rock Inscription' V.S. 1226 (A.D. 1169),
E.I. XXVI, pp. 84ff.

208. JBERAS. XXIII, p. 166.

Śaivite cult since very early times. We have evidences from both literary and epigraphic²⁰⁹ records regarding the association of the Guhila ruler Bāppā with the sage Hārīta, the great exponent of Pāsūpatā Śaivism, at Nāgdā. Bāppā's devotion to god Ekalinga or Śiva and association with Hārīta is also suggested by the numismatic evidence²¹⁰. It is also stated in the tradition as well as epigraphic records that by the blessing of Hārīta, Bāppā defeated his enemies in many battles and finally made his fortune in and around Nāgdā²¹¹. Gradually, Bāppā became an ascetic and died a peaceful death²¹². A small shrine commonly known as Bāppā Rawal, about a mile north of Ekalingji, marks the spot of his observance of samādhi where his ashes were interred²¹³.

209. AR. I. p. 243. verses 9-12, 'Chitor Ins.' (V.S. 1331), Bhāv. Ins., p. 75, verses 8-11, 'Mount Abu Ins.' (V.S. 1342), I.A. XVI, p. 347, verse 11-16, 'Ekalinga Ins.' (V.S. 1545), Bhāv. Ins., p. 117.

210. JNSI. XLVII (1985), pp. 129-130.

211. AR. I. pp. 243-246.

212. AR. I. p. 246 ; I.A. XVI. p. 347 ; Bhāv. Ins., p. 75.

213. Sharma, G.N., Glories of Mewar, Agra, p. 57.

During the reign of Naravāhana (10th century A.D.) the Śaiva ascetics like Supujitarāsi and Viniśchitarāsi resided at the temple of Ekaliṅgaji²¹⁴. The celebrated dilectician Vedāṅga Muni is associated with this temple. The most respectable āchārya Sāhiya stayed at Nāgdā in 1116 A.D.²¹⁵. We are told by the Chirwā Inscription (V.S. 1330) that at the head of the Pāsūpata sect, there was Śivarāsi who possessed many qualities and worshipped the god Ekaliṅga²¹⁶. The temple of Ekaliṅga was repaired and reconstructed by the Guhila rulers belonging to Bāppā's line.

Dhod

Dhod or Dhavagartā was a great Śaiva religious centre in Mewār, a place ruled over by the Guhilas²¹⁷ and later by the Chāhamānas²¹⁸. The Dabok Inscription or Dhod Inscription records the grant of some pieces

214. JBERAS. XXIII, p. 152 ; Bhāv. Ins., p. 69.

215. Jain, K.C., op.cit., p. 219.

216. Verse 44, E.I. XXII, p. 288.

217. 'Dabok. Ins.' or 'Dhod Ins.' (G.E. 407),
E.I. XX, p. 187.

218. RMR. 1923, p. 2. No. 2.

of land by Vaidya Giyaka, son of Nāgadaman, a resident of Dhavagartā, at Dhoḍ in the Jahājpur district of the Udaipur state, to the temples of the god Mahāmaheśvara and the goddess Durgā called Ghattāvāsinī²¹⁹. In A.D. 1163, the temple of Nityapramoditadeva was built by Kumārapāla, a feudatory of Prithvirāja II, the Chāhamāna ruler. This temple is mentioned as a place of pilgrimage in the Bijauliā Inscription (A.D. 1169)²²⁰. The queen of Chāhamāna ruler Prithvirāja II, Suhadadevī, granted several fields to the temple. During the rule of Chāhamāna ruler Someśvara, Karaṇika Brāhmaṇa Mahantana Chāhaḍa sold his house to this temple for sixteen drammas attributed to Ajayadeva²²¹. In A.D. 1172, Bhattāraka Prabhasarāṣi got a monastery built near the temple of Nityapramoditadeva for the residence of Kapilla ascetics from foreign countries²²².

219. E.I. XX, p. 187.

220. E.I. XXVI, p. 101.

221. RMR. 1923, No. 3, p. 2.

222. Ibid. No. 4, p. 2.

Chitor

Chitor was a holy place of the Śaivas, although it was more known as a place of Jaina pilgrimage. A fragmentary inscription²²³, discovered in a Śiva temple, refer to a ruler named Mānabhaṅga of the Grahapati - jāti in connection with the construction of a temple at Chitor. Mānabhaṅga is identified with Māna of the Mānasaro-
vara Inscription (A.D. 713). The temple of Kukkureś-
vara is said to have been built by a prince named Kukkureśvara in A.D. 754²²⁴. The temple of Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa²²⁵ built by the Paramāra ruler Bhoja at Chitor and the temple of Samadhiśvara²²⁶ prove that Chitor was a stronghold of Śaivism.

223. AR, ASI, 1934-35, pp. 56-57.

224. AR. III, p. 1823, vide Sharma, D., op.cit., p. 240.

225. Verses 30-31, 'Chirwā Ins.' (V.S. 1330), E.I. XXII, p. 288.

226. Verses 1-3. 'Chitor Ins.' (V.S. 1331), Bhāv. Ins., p. 75, verses 222-223, 4th slab, 'Kumbhalgarh Ins.' (1460 A.D.), E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

Śāktism

Epigraphic and archaeological evidences furnish us with the information regarding the worship of Śakti or Mother-goddess in Mewār. In the Sāmoli Inscription (A.D. 646) of Śīla may be traced an invocation to goddess Chandikā. The same record tells us about the construction of the temple dedicated to Aranyavāsinī, that is Durgā, by Mahattara Jentaka²²⁷. The Dabok inscription of Dhanika records the construction of the temple of goddess Durgā named as Ghattavāsinī²²⁸. In the Jagat Stone Inscription (A.D. 1171) it is stated that Ambādevī was worshipped²²⁹. Bhawānī mentioned in the Mount Abu Inscription²³⁰ (V.S. 1342) is, no doubt, goddess Durgā, the Śakti (female energy) of Śīva. There was a temple of Mātāji at Dāribā in Mewār²³¹. That Mokāla set up the temple of Devī, with an image of lion made of mixture of all metals is known from the Kumbhalgarh Inscription²³² (1460 A.D.)

227. Line 1 and 8-9, E.I. XX, p. 97.

228. E.I. XX, p. 187.

229. RMR. 1915, p. 3.

230. Verse 50, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

231. 'Dāribā stone Inscription' (V.S. 1356), RMR. 1927, p. 3.

232. Verses 224-225, 4th slab, E.I. XXI, pp. 277 ff.

It is stated in the above inscription that in the village of Kelwāḍā, there existed a temple of Bana Mātā, that was destroyed by Mahmud Khaljī of Māndu. The Samidheśvara Inscription preserves a prayer to Girijā and refers to a temple of Bhagawatī Bhawānī belonging to the mountains²³³. The Kumbhalgarh Inscription (A.D. 1460) refers to the description of goddess Chandikā Vindhyavāsinī²³⁴. In V.S. 1515, an image of Ambikā was installed at Mount Ābu by Śhāh Āshā²³⁵. That the goddess Yogesvarī was worshipped in Mewār is known from the Chirwā Inscription²³⁶ (V.S. 1330). The worship of Śītalā Mātā, the protectress from small pox, is referred to in the Gogundā Inscription (A.D. 1366) that records the construction of the temple of Śītalā during the reign of Rānā Kshetrasimha of Mewār²³⁷.

The above records leave little scope of doubt that Śakti or Mother-goddess left a deep impress in

233. Verse 3, Vir Vinod, I. p. 402.

234. Verses 20-22. 1st slab, E.I. XXIV, pp. 304ff.

235. Sharma, G.N., op.cit., p. 192.

236. Verses 1-2, E.I. XXII, p. 288.

237. Sharma, G.N., op.cit., p. 193.

the religious life of the people in Mewār. She used to be worshipped in temples in the form of images with different nomenclatures. Śakti was a perennial source of inspiration to the Guhila clan of the Rājput. It has been rightly pointed out by Dr. G.N. Sharma that it is Śakti that stirred the life and intellect of the warriors and probably inspired most of the outstanding facts of valour in history²³⁸.

Other Female Divinities

The worship of Lakshmī and Saraswatī are known from the records of Mewār. Sītā, the consort of Rāma, was worshipped as mother goddess. With an opening invocation to other gods and goddesses the name of Saraswatī appears in the Kumbhalgarh Inscription²³⁹ (1460 A.D.). The worship of goddess Mahālakshmī, known as Annapūrṇā, is referred to in the same record. The temple of Mahālakshmī is said to have been

238. Sharma, G.N. op.cit. p. 194.

239. 1st slab, verse 1, E.I. XXIV, p. 304.

constructed by Mahārāṇā Hāmmira (A.D. 1326-1364)²⁴⁰. The Chātsu Inscription of Bālāditya opens with an obeisance to goddess Sarasvatī²⁴¹. Lakshmī finds mention in the Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342) in the capacity of the goddess of fortune²⁴². The Śringi Rishi Inscription (V.S. 1485) opens with an invocatory verse in praise of Bhāratī, the goddess of learning²⁴³. A temple of Sītā of great antiquity is found at the village Siyarāma, about two miles from Udaipur.

Art and Architecture

The Tibetan historian Lāma Tāranāth states that the old Western School of Art was developed by the artist Śringadhara under the patronage of king Śīlāditya in the Maru country. A good number of

240. Ibid. verses 51-54.

241. Verse 1, E.I. XII, p. 10 ; also 'Nāgari Ins.' of Rāimāla (V.S. 1561) JASB. LVI, Pt. I. p. 82.

242. Verse 50, I.A. XVI, p. 347.

243. Verse 1, RMR. 1925, p. 3.

masterpieces of art²⁴⁴, having been executed during the period from the 6th to the 8th century A.D. in the kingdom of the Guhilas, bear testimony to Śīlāditya's patronage to art and architecture.

Art in early mediaeval Mewār was generally the hand-maid of religion. Āghāṭa or Āhār has yielded a life-size image of seated Trithaṅkara, made of bronze, now preserved in the Āhār museum. Kubera's statue discovered from Bansi near Chitor bears the influence of Jaina art of the 8th century A.D.²⁴⁵.

The early mediaeval Śīva līṅga at Kalyāṇpur is supposed to be the earliest specimen of Chaturmukhalingam from Mewār. On the top Śīva's heads facing four directions and below stand the figures of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Śīva. It is a perfect example of the art of the 7-8th century A.D. The Kālīkā Mātā Temple of the Chitor fort represents the

244. Agarwal, R.C., Arts Asiatiques, Paris, 1965, XI, pp. 43-45.

245. Paliwal, D.L. (ed.), op.cit., p. 13.

architecture of the 8th century A.D.²⁴⁶. It is also known as the sun-temple. It is small but excellent in construction, and stylistically its architecture is similar to that of Osiā temples built during the Pratihāra period. The characteristics of Pratihāra style of art may be traced in the early mediaeval temples of Mewār. The Gangodbhav Kunda and the temple of Ādivarāha built during the time of Bhartīpaṭṭa II (A.D. 943) are the examples of early mediaeval style of architecture²⁴⁷.

The reign of King Allata of Mewār witnessed the construction^{of} some fine specimens of architecture. The Ambikā temple of Jagat was constructed during his reign in the middle of the 10th century A.D. The Unwas Temple of 959 A.D. and the Ekalinga Temple of 971 A.D. are simple and plain in design, whereas the Ambikā Temple of Jagat is richly carved²⁴⁸. The exteriors of the temple of Jagat are profusely studded with elegant reliefs comprising Durgā-Ambikā in varied aspects. Dikpālas and a number of female figures are found in different modes and poses.

246. Ibid. p. 14.

247. RMR. 1914, p. 2.

248. I.A. LVIII, p. 161; Bhāv. Ins., p. 69;
Bhāv. Ins., p. 67.

The Śas-bahu temples of Nāgdā of the 10th century A.D. bear beautiful carvings. The temples are of mother-in-law (Śas) and daughter-in-law (Bahu) standing side by side. The temple of Bahu is comparatively plain, while that of Śas is elaborately carved, especially inside. In front of the Śas temple there is a Hindola Toran or a swinging arch²⁴⁹.

The temples dedicated to Vishṇu and Śiva are found at Āhār. Of the two, the Vishṇu Temple is simple, while the other bears ornamental design. At the Śiva temple we have the images of Śiva, Pārvatī, Surya, Brahmā and Varāha, fine specimens of sculpture²⁵⁰.

The temple of Kumbhasvānī in Chitor, which had its origin on the substructure of the early 9th century A.D., has close affinity with the architectural style of the Pratihāras. The temple of

249. Agarwal, R.C., 'Some famous sculpture and Architects of Mewar' I.H.Q. XXXIII, pp. 321-324.

250. Sharma, G.N., Glories of Mewar, Agra, pp.33-34.

Mahādeva (Samiddheśvara) and the Śringāra Chauri still retain the original portions. Those were built during the reign of Kumārapāla and represent the Solānki style of art. The repairs made by Jaitrasīṃha and Samarasīṃha reveal the influence of Vāghelā style of Gujrāt²⁵¹. The architects of this place became so well-known that they were invited even to other parts.

The temple of Tribhuvananārāyaṇa in Chitor was constructed in the early part of the 11th century A.D.²⁵². The temples of Yogesvara and Yogesvarī were built probably towards the close of the 12th century A.D. or in the beginning of the 13th century A.D. An image of Vishṇu was made during this period²⁵³. The Śringāra Chauri is one of the most beautiful temples of Mewār. It was a Kharataragachcha Jain temple and was repaired during the reign of Mahārāṇā Kumbhā. The Sat-Bis Dewāri Jain Temple is a group of Jain shrines.

251. Jain, K.C., op.cit. p. 229.

252. Verses 30-31, 'Chirwā Inscription' (V.S. 1330),
E.I. XXII, p. 288.

253. Ibid.

The temples-complex consists of a shrine, three mandapas and a corridor of cell-shrines surrounding the central temple²⁵⁴.

The temple of Padmāvatī at Nāgdā was originally the temple of Pārśvanātha destroyed by the invasion of Iltutmish in the first-half of the 13th century A.D. The new images were installed and the temple was rebuilt. Pāśadeva and Saṅgharāma placed an image of Pārśvanātha in A.D. 1299²⁵⁵. In A.D. 1334 Kelha repaired the shrine of Pārśvanātha²⁵⁶. A sculpture in the sanctum is somewhat interesting. In the centre of the slab is the figure of a Jina in an attitude of meditation having a halo behind and two conical capped Chauri bearers, one on each side with gandharvas and devas represented the air²⁵⁷.

The account of Mewār art remains incomplete without mention of Nilkanṭha temple, the Adbhuta temple, the Jain Vijaystambha, the Mahāvīr Jain

254. E.I. II, p. 415.

255. PRAS, WC., 1905-06, p. 63.

256. Ibid. No. 2243.

257. PRAS, WC, 1905, p. 61.

Temple and the Kukkuḍeśvara group of temples. The Nilkanṭha Temple is one of the oldest temples that was demolished during the invasion of Alāuddīn Khaljī, sometime in the beginning of the 14th century A.D. The Adbhūta temple was constructed during the reign of Mahārāṇā Rāimāl. The Jain Vijayastambha was completed during the reign of Mahārāṇā Hāmmir. The Kukkuḍeśvara group of temples is old but lacks artistic excellence. All these temples are found in the fort of Chitor. The fort is thus a standing monument of art and architecture²⁵⁸.

It appears from the above that the rulers in early mediaeval and mediaeval Mewār possessed the talent for construction and uniformly followed the policy of extending patronage to both architects and sculptures despite the series of battles that were fought between the contestants for power in Mewār. Further, the school of art that flourished in Mewār absorbed in itself the Pratihāra, Solāṅki and Vāghelā styles of art. Of course, religion dominated over art. The temples and images of gods and goddesses satisfied the religious emotions of the Mewāris.

258. Somani, R.V., 'Forts of Mewar', in Mewar through the Ages (ed.) Paliwal, D.L., Udaipur, 1970, p.41.

Language and literature

The use of Sanskrit language often incorrect grammatically and of the northern class of Brāhmī alphabet better known as Kūṭilalipi may be traced in the earlier inscriptions. The earliest inscription of the Guhilas of Nāgdā - Āhār (Mewār) written in the northern class of alphabet is the Sāmoli Inscription²⁵⁹ (A.D. 646). The language is incorrect Sanskrit. The Nāgdā Inscription²⁶⁰ is also written in characters belonging to the northern class of alphabet having even earlier forms. Similarly, in the Bijauliā Rock Inscription²⁶¹ (A.D. 1169) the same trend is followed with some modification, although the earlier trends have been retained in some cases.

The Ghosundi Inscription²⁶², an early record, and the Sāmoli Inscription²⁶³ (A.D. 646) are specimens of compositions of high literary merit and

259. E.I. XX, p. 97.

260. E.I. IV, pp. 31-32.

261. E.I. XXVI, pp. 84ff.

262. E.I. XXII, p. 205; I.A. LVIII, p. 229.

263. E.I. XX, p. 97.

throw light on the progress of Sanskrit Kāvya-style in Mewār. The Nāgāda Inscription (A.D. 661) of Aparājita states that Dāmodara son of Brahma-chārin and Yaśobhata son of Vātsa, were Sanskrit poets and composers of epigraphs²⁶⁴. The Āhar Sarnesvara Temple Inscription (A.D. 953) mentions the names of Pramata, Guhisa, Garga, Rudrāditya and Vāmadeva as learned persons²⁶⁵. Similar informations about learned men belonging to our period are available from the Ekalinga Inscription (A.D. 971), the Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1331) and the Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342)²⁶⁶.

Before the 7th century A.D., no worth-mentioning literary work is known to have been produced in Rājputānā. The Jaina monks and the Śaiva saints lighted the lamp of knowledge for the benefit of the rulers, the rich and the common folk in Mewār in the early mediaeval period. The Jaina monks composed some literary works and thus preserved

264. E.I. IV, pp. 31-32.

265. E.I. IX, p. 189 ; Bhāv. Ins., p. 67 ; I.A. LVIII, p. 161.

266. Bhāv. Ins. p. 69; E.I. XXX, p. 8; E.I. XXII, p. 288; Bhāv. Ins., p. 75; I.A. XVI, p. 347.

knowledge for the posterity. Nāgdā, Āhār, Chitor and Dhoḍ became the centres of education and culture in Mewār during our period.

That Nāgdā was a well-known centre of culture since earliest times is known from the Vividhatirtha-kalpa composed by Jinaprabha sūri in A.D. 1332²⁶⁷. Bāppā was influenced by his preceptor Hārita who latter preached the Pāsūpata doctrine for the benefit of the rulers and the ruled in Mewār²⁶⁸. In the Ekaliṅga Inscription (A.D. 971) there is a reference to Kushika and other munis who possessed vast knowledge contained in a number of Śāstras. The same inscription informs us that a great debate was held in the court of Naravāhana among the Śaivas, the Jainas and the Buddhists, wherein the Śaivas are stated to have come out victorious²⁶⁹. Amarkavi was the composer of above inscription. The composers of Allāṭa's Sārnesvara Inscription (A.D. 953) were the Kāyasthas²⁷⁰. The Kāyasthas seem to have played a significant role in

267. Vividhatirthakalpa, pp. 86 and 106.

268. Bhāv. Ins., p. 75; I.A. XVI, p. 347; Bhāv. Ins., p. 117.

269. Bhāv. Ins., p. 69.

270. Verse 16, Bhāv. Ins., p. 67.

the field of education and culture. Karaṇika Bhāṇu composed the Chātsu Inscription of Bālāditya²⁷¹. The Nāsun Inscription of Dhanika shows clear traces of the influence of poet Kālidāsa. Another inscription at Nagar is claimed to be a composition of the descendant of Bāṇa, named Saugata, the son of srīvarḥana²⁷². The Pāldi Inscription (A.D. 1116) was composed by Sudraga Pandita²⁷³. The Chitorgarh Inscription (A.D. 1150) of Kumārapāla was composed by a Digambara scholar Rāmakirtigaṇi²⁷⁴. The Bijauliā Inscription (A.D. 1169) was written by Gunabhadra who was a Digambara Jaina scholar²⁷⁵. The Ghāghsā stone Inscription (V.S. 1322) was composed by Ratnaprabhasūri, the pupil of Bhuvanachandrasūri of the Chaitragachchha²⁷⁶. The Chirwā Inscription (V.S. 1330) records the names of several Jaina āchāryas, who were great scholars among whom

271. Verse 38, E.I. XII, p. 10.

272. Line 23, 'Nagar Inscription', Bhārata Kaumadī, I. p. 276.

273. Verse 24, E.I. XXX, p. 8; verses 16-22, give a long list of teachers who were saints of extraordinary philosophical and spiritual attainments.

274. E.I. II, p. 421.

275. Sharma, D., Rajasthan Through The Ages, Vol. I, Bikaner, 1966, p. 524.

276. Verses 31-33, RMR. 1927, p. 3.

Pārśvachandra was the chief composer of the text. We are told by the same record that Ratnaprabhasūri was highly honoured by Viśāladeva and Tejasimha, the Vāghelā ruler and the Guhila ruler respectively²⁷⁷. The composer of the Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1330) and the Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342) was Brāhmaṇa Vedāśarmā, a man of great intelligence²⁷⁸.

Several copies of Jaina manuscripts were written at Āghāṭa or Āhār during the reign of Jaitrasimha in the 13th century A.D. Copies of Aughaniryukti and Pākshikavritti were written on palm-leaves in A.D. 1228 and 1253 respectively²⁷⁹. These copies were very important from historical point of view as they furnish information regarding the long reign of Jaitrasimha. An illustrated copy of Srāvakaṇṇatī-Kṛmānāchūṇī was also written at Āghāṭa in A.D. 1261, during his reign²⁸⁰. By the inspiration of Jaina saints, several copies of manuscripts were prepared under the royal patronage. Jhanjhana, in

277. Verses 45-48, E.I. XXII, p. 288.

278. Verse 60, Bhāv. Ins., p. 75; I.A. XVI, p. 347.

279. Peterson's Report, III, p. 52 and p. 130.

280. Ibid. V. p. 23.

the company of his teacher Dharmaghosāsūri, organised the saṅgha at the holy places and visited Āghāṭa²⁸¹. Sundarasūri composed a stotra as a mark of devotion to Nāgahrada Pārśvanātha²⁸².

Chitor was a great centre of education in early mediaeval period. Haribhadra, the great commentator, utilised the labours of early writers in his works. It indicates that the Jaina scriptures were studied in the 8th century A.D. He was the author of the Dhurtakhyana, that he wrote at Chitor. It is said that Virasena learnt the ṣaṭkhaṇḍagama and the Kaṣayaprabhṛita from Elāchārya at Chitor and after that he wrote the Dhavalā and a portion of the Jayadhavalā in the south in the 9th century A.D.²⁸³. Hariṣena, who wrote ḍhammaparikkhā in 987 A.D., was originally a resident of Chitor. Rāmākīrti's disciple Vimalakīrti wrote the sugandha-dasamīkathā²⁸⁴ and another disciple Yaśakīrti composed Jagatasundariprayogamālā²⁸⁵.

281. JSSI. p. 395.

282. JSP. IV, p. 25.

283. JGPS. p. 90.

284. RJSBGS. p. 632.

285. Jain, K.C., op.cit. p. 233.

In the mediaeval period, the creative genius gradually declined, as scholars devoted the were more devoted to writing commentaries and making copies of manuscripts. It has been already suggested that the copies of manuscripts were written at Āghāṭa in the 13th century A.D. under royal patronage. Most of these works were written in Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa, Hindi and Rājasthānī. The copies of manuscripts on religion and philosophy were prepared for making gifts of them to the Jaina monks in the 12th-13th century A.D.

The regular visits to Chitor by several Jaina monks like Siddhasena Divākara, Haribhadrāsūri Pradyumnasūri, Jinavallabhasūri, Ratnaprabhasūri and Jinadattasūri indicate the love of the people of Mewār for religion and academic attainments from the 6th to the 14th century A.D. The scholars and writers who lived at Chitor or graced the court of the rulers of Mewār were Mahuka, the writer of Harmekhalā, Hariṣena, the writer of Dharmaparīkṣā (A.D. 987), Vedāśarmā, the composer of the Chitor Inscription (V.S. 1331) and the Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342) and Rāmākīrtigani, the composer of Chitorgarh Inscription (A.D. 1150).

In some epigraphic records²⁸⁶, it is indicated that Allaṭa, Naravāhana, Vijayasimha and Samarasimha were patrons of literature. The later epigraphic records²⁸⁷ and literary texts furnish us with the information that Mahārāṇā Kumbhā (1433-1468 A.D.) was not only a patron of literature but was himself a great scholar and poet. The Ekaliṅga-māhātmya²⁸⁸, which was composed during his reign, informs us that Mahārāṇā Kumbhā was well-versed in the Vedas, Smritis, Mimāṃsā, Nāṭyaśāstra, Rājñiti, Upanishads, Tarka and Sāhitya. The last part of the Ekaliṅgamāhātmya is replete with lyric poems. Rāṇā Kumbhā had good command over sanskrit, Mahārāstri, Karnāṭaki and other languages. His commentary on the Gita Govinda is a testimony of his proficiency in Sanskrit language. Several works on music like the Sangitarāja, the Saṅgita Mimāṃsā, the Rasikapriyā and

286. Bhāv. Ins., p. 69; E.I. XXX, p. 8; XXII, p. 288; Bhāv. Ins., p. 75; I.A. XVI, p. 347.

287. Verse 242, 4th slab, 'Kumbhalgarh Ins.'
(A.D. 1460), E.I. XXI, p. 277.

288. Verses 172-173, 'Rājavarṇaṇa Adhyāya' in the Ekaliṅgamāhātmya.

the commentary on the Sangita Ratnākara have been attributed to him²⁸⁹. Mahārāṇā Rāimāla was also a patron of learning, honoured Maheśvara, the composer of the Ekalinga Inscription (V.S. 1545) by offering him the title of the poet-laureate of his court.

Bardic chronicles constitute the most important branch of literature written in prose. Although Naiṇsi's Khyāta, a bardic chronicle, does not strictly fall within the period under study, it records brilliantly the literary tradition of Mewār. Similarly, the Vir Vinod of Kaviṛāj Śhyāmalāś is a glaring example of the contribution made by the Chārāns and Bhāts to the history and literature of Mewār.

While describing the land of Medapāṭa, with hilly surroundings the author of the Mount Ābu Inscription (V.S. 1342) states that it was an abode of everything that is beautiful in the world²⁹⁰. The writer of the Ekalinga Inscription (V.S. 1545)

289. Sharma, G.N., op.cit., p. 253.

290. I.A. XVI, p. 347.

states that it excels paradise itself and that its splendour has deprived all other cities and citizens of the pride of their glory²⁹¹. The socio-cultural history of early mediaeval Mewār, although it could be reconstructed only in outline due to paucity of material, gives us to understand that Mewār under the Guhila rule made bold experiments to achieve a reconised place in material, intellectual and spiritual culture of India.

291. Bhāv. Ins., p. 117.

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